NOVA SCOTIA,

IN ITS

Historical, Mercantile and Industrial Relations,

BY

DUNCAN CAMPBELL,

HALIFAX, N.S.

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PREFACE.

THERE are already two historical works on Nova Scotia —one by Thomas C. Haliburton, and the other by Beamish Murdoch, both natives of the Province; the former an author of unquestionable genius, and the latter one who bequeaths to his country a work containing, in three volumes, a body of facts, in chronological order, which will continue to be consulted in coming generations as a valuable literary deposit. The interesting narrative of Haliburton closes with the year 1763—embracing only two hundred and forty-two pages—the latter part of his first volume consisting of a chronological table of events, extending from 1763 to 1828, and his second volume being devoted to a Statistical account of the Province. Mr. Murdoch's history, so far as published, comes down to the year 1828.

While the writer has availed himself of the labors of his predecessors, he hopes the structure of his story, as well as much of the matter which it embodies, will be found so different from the narratives already produced, as not to be chargeable with undue sameness. To counterbalance the advantage of at least one half of his work being occupied with transactions and facts, of which no previous attempt to give a connected narrative has been made, he has encountered the difficulty, on the one hand, of imparting freshness to a theme whose events have transpired in the present generation, and, on the other, of avoiding exposure to the charge of partiality, in treating of a time when the political fermentation, occasioned by these events, has not entirely subsided.

When the work was undertaken, the writer expected that long before sending it to press, the Dominion Census of 1871 would have been published, in all its important details—thus supplying valuable *data* for determining the last decennial progress of the Province in its mercantile,

agricultural, and manufacturing interests. Only one volume, however, of the five of which that work is to consist, has yet appeared.

The limits of this book have occasioned the omission of much matter which might prove both interesting and instructive. A greater degree of condensation would have rectified this to some extent, but there might be a corresponding loss in readableness—a characteristic which it was the desire of the writer, if possible, to ensure.

In giving a number of biographies, only a slight excavation has been made in a mine in which, it is to be hoped, some more competent hand will find employment —many departed native worthies not having been even mentioned, whose lives deserve a permanent record.

The analyses of the various coal measures, to be found in the Appendix, have been either furnished by proprietors or agents of the respective mines, or taken from reports of the Commissioner of Public Works.

The copious Index has been prepared with much care and labor, and, it is hoped, will be found to answer its purpose.

The persons to whom the writer has been indebted for assistance are too numerous to mention, but he desires to express his special obligations to Mr. Thomas Beamish Akins, D.C.L., not only for much useful information, but also for access to his excellent library, mainly consisting of a most extensive and valuable collection of books bearing on the Continent of America. He is indebted to the Local Government for access to the unpublished records of the Province, and the temporary use of books and documents from the Legislative Library, of which they are the immediate custodians; also to the Governors of King's College, Windsor, for the perusal of prize essays, in manuscript, on some of the Counties of the Province, and to Messrs. Venables and Creed, librarians, for their invariable courtesy and kindness.

Halifax, October, 1873.

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THAT was an important event in the history of the world when the joyful sound of land! land! was heard, on the morning of the twelfth of October, 1492, from the Pinta, one of the three small vessels with which Christopher Columbus had been furnished in setting out on his hazardous voyage in search of a western passage to India. The signal success of that expedition, though of a nature very different from what the genius which originated it had anticipated, inspired a spirit of adventure in Europe, in which the British, the French and the Spanish nations were the most prominent and enthusiastic rivals. Conspicuous among the eminent men, who in that age rendered themselves famous by the discovery of new countries, stood Sebastian, the son of John Cabot—a Venetian merchant resident in England. Columbus had despatched his brother Bartholomew to England in order to submit to the British monarch proposals as to his contemplated expedition, which had been rejected by other powers. Bartholomew, in returning, was unfortunately made prisoner by pirates: hence the glory of the subsequent discoveries of that great navigator were lost to Henry the seventh, who readily granted, in the hope of rivalling Spain in the field of naval adventure, a patent to John Cabot and his three sons, dated March the fifth, 1496, by which they were empowered

to prepare an expedition consisting of several vessels, for the discovery of new lands, which accordingly sailed from Bristol, in May, 1497, under the command of Sebastian Cabot. Mr. Haliburton, in his history of Nova Scotia, says that "John Cabot and his son Sebastian were surprised, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, by the sight of land, which they called *Prima Vista*, and which is generally supposed to have been part of Nova Scotia, or the northern part of Trinity Bay, Newfoundland." It seems, however, doubtful if John Cabot accompanied the expedition, but there is in an ancient Bristol manuscript, regarded as authentic, a record that on the day indicated by Mr. Haliburton—the twenty fourth of June, 1497—"Newfoundland was first discovered by Bristol men in a ship called the Matthew," therefore it is extremely probable that the island specified was the first land seen by Cabot after leaving the British Isles. The expedition sailed afterwards along the continent towards Florida, and in doing so, probably kept the coast in view, in which case the Peninsula of Nova Scotia must have been sighted, though we have no evidence that a landing was effected by any of the voyagers.

It is foreign to our present purpose to follow Sebastian Cabot through his brilliant career as a navigator. We cannot, however, refrain from briefly referring to some of the subsequent incidents in his eventful life. In February, 1498, a second patent was granted to John Cabot, or "his deputies," shortly after which he died. About this time, two of his sons, Lewis and Saucius, are supposed to have settled in Italy, but the indefatigable Sebastian hastened to prepare for a second voyage to the western world. We accordingly find him, under royal auspices, again on the main in the year 1498. Little has been recorded respecting this voyage beyond the fact that he directed his course more to the north than previously, and that, encountering much ice, he steered southward, proceeding as far as the latitude of Nova Scotia, when the expedition returned to England. The results of this

second expedition were not such, however, as to encourage King Henry to fit out a third, but Sebastian was not a man to be disheartened by the temporary withdrawal of royal patronage. Hence we find that in the following year he equipped a vessel at his own expense, making, according to Seyer's memoirs of Bristol, "great discoveries," of which, however, we have no specific account. Subsequently Sebastian entered the naval service of King Ferdinand of Spain, in which he distinguished himself, and finally settled in England, and was actively employed in maritime affairs by the Government, who settled upon him a pension of two hundred and fifty marks. It was at this time that he disclosed to King Edward the phenomenon of the variations of the magnetic needle. His later life was distinguished by the organization of a company, and the equipment of an expedition, which proved a great national benefit in opening a lucrative trade with Russia. This eminent man died about the year 1557, but neither the date of his birth nor the place of his interment is properly authenticated. Although long the subject of dispute, it is now certain that England was the place of his nativity.

To Cabot belongs the honor of being probably the first European discoverer of the American Continent, although it had been previously known to Asiatics. The breadth of sea by which Asia and America are separated at latitude 66° is only forty-five English miles; and there are islands midway from which both continents can be seen. Besides, at latitude 53° the Aleutian Isles stretch in almost connecting links from one shore to the other. That America received a portion of its population from Asia, is rendered certain by the fact that the Esquimaux, living on the west of Behring's Strait, speak a language radically the same as the Tschutskoi on the opposite shores. Apart from the proximity of the two continents at the points indicated, various theories have been propounded to show that America may have been otherwise

peopled. It may, however, be regarded as indisputable that all the native tribes are not the descendants of any one race of people. The variety of their physical conformation and complexion seems to render that certain: for example, tribes almost black are found in California and Paraguay. Nor can this marked deviation from the prevailing hue be attributed to climate, for it is a remarkable fact, characteristic of America, that the natives who wander in the equatorial regions are not darker than those found in the temperate zone.

On the other hand, it is equally remarkable that all the natives of the continent have long, black, lank hair, there being no trace of the frizzled locks of the Polynesian or the woolly texture of the negro, whilst in all cases, through natural causes, the beard is extremely deficient. There is also a striking analogy in the languages of America, which Vater informs us exceed five hundred in number, and which would seem to indicate a common original base. Though there are numerous indications of Asiatic origin to be found among the tribes of the continent, yet it is not at all probable that it has been peopled from those portions of Asia alone to which we have alluded. When in the Southern ocean we find islands, far distant from any continent and from each other, inhabited, doubtless, through the agency of tempests by which boats were driven out to sea, the peopling of America by a variety of races and at latitudes far apart cannot be matter of wonder. If in the case of isolated islands, which constitute mere specks on the bosom of the great deep, people found their way thither, what was to prevent their landing at various points of a continent so immense as that of America?

Assuming that the continent was originally peopled from many sources, and by a variety of races, the general resemblance found among the aborigines, both in complexion and language, is not more incompatible with the validity of such

a theory than is the type of the American nation, now in process of rapid formation, and which will soon find its full development, with the great variety of the European races, by which America has continued to be peopled since its re-discovery by Cabot. The truth seems to be that the operation of natural laws, as manifested in the conformation complexion, and general idiosyncrasy of the human family, is as yet but imperfectly understood. Dogmatic assertion in the maintenance of any theory is, therefore, in the present state of human knowledge in relation to this interesting subject, equally unbecoming and unwarrantable.

The question naturally arises, have the natives of the continent been always in the barbarous condition in which they were found at its re-discovery? The architectural ruins found in Mexico and the valley of the Mississippi answer in the negative, so far at least as those regions are concerned. The ruins of Palenque in Mexico, of which Humboldt gives an interesting account, and which are covered with hieroglyphics, and sculptures in relief with ornamental cornices, tell their own story; so do the splendid pictorial illustrations published by the Smithsonian Institute as to the stage of civilization at which the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Mississippi had arrived, showing at the same time the degree of their attainments in some of the arts, which far surpasses anything of which the tribes, now inhabiting the continent, are capable.

Of the races which peopled North America at the time of its re-discovery, the Algonquin was one of the most numerous, comprehending more than thirty distinct tribes, each of which spoke a different dialect of the same language. To this race belonged the Micmacs, who inhabited the Peninsula of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island. It has been remarked that all the North American Indians, except the Esquimaux, resemble each other in their features, their language, and their manners and customs. In perusing

Catlin's work containing a description of a large number of tribes scattered over an immense region, and in examining the numerous graphic likenesses of the members of the various tribes with which his volumes abound, the truth of the observation receives striking confirmation.

The Nova Scotian Indians of the present day retain many of their ancient habits and usages, notwithstanding their having been brought up in proximity to the white race, whose vices have perhaps contributed more to the deterioration of their character than their virtues to its improvement; and they also adhere pertinaciously in the construction of their peculiar habitations to the form which obtained in the days of their fathers. In the wigwam there is a place for everything and everything in its place. Every post, every bar, every fastening, every tier of bark, and every appendage, whether for ornament or use, in this curious structure, has a name, and every section of the limited space has its appropriate designation and use. Perhaps it would be impossible to plan a hut of equal dimensions in which the comfort and convenience of the inmates could be so effectively secured. In the centre is the fire. On each side is what is called the *Kamigwom*, where sit, on the one the master and mistress, and on the other the old or young people. The wife has her place next the door, and by her side sits her lord. In no case does the wife sit above the husband. Towards the back part of the wigwam is the place of honor. They say to a stranger that is made welcome—"*Kutakumagual upchalase*" "come up to the back part of the wigwam." The men sit cross-legged, in Oriental fashion, the women with their feet twisted round to one side, and the young men of the family, with their feet extended, in front. The etiquette observed in this limited domicile is as exact and rigid as in more polished society. When a neighbour comes to the wigwam at night he never presumes to enter without ceremony. Saluting the inmates from the outside, he utters

the word "Kwa," which signifies, Hail! If the voice is not recognized, the response from the inside is "Kwa wenin kel?" "who art thou?," when the visitor gives his name, and if known, he is at once made welcome. If the inmates either do not know him or care about his visit, "*Kogwa pawotumun?*" "What is your wish?" is the dry question.

Though the condition of the Micmac women has been improved under the influence of civilization, yet they are still considered inferior to the other sex. When the Indian is engaged in any kind of business his wife never ventures to interfere by advice or otherwise. Thus when the wife of a gentleman who was in treaty for feathers with an Indian remonstrated with her husband for giving too high a price, the Indian indignantly rebuked her by remarking "when Indian make bargain, squaw never speakum!" In travelling the Indian always walks in advance of his wife. In quenching thirst he uniformly serves himself first. In passing from one part of a wigwam to another a woman must not, however crowded it may be, step across a man's feet or his fish spear if it happen to be in the way. To do so would be regarded as a gross insult.

The natives maintain commendable discipline in the management of their households. They have no sympathy with that modern, but very unwise regulation, which at school or at home dispenses with judiciously administered corporal punishment. They believe with Solomon that he who spareth the rod hateth the child. Hence they do not scruple to apply the birch when it is necessary.

The general treatment of the children by their parents is marked by much affection and gentleness. Observe the untutored denizen of the forest as he returns in the evening of a summer's day to his wigwam. See how his children, who are looking out for him, recognise him while he is yet far off, and run with the utmost glee to meet him, and with what a benignant smile the father's countenance is radiated

as he struggles through the older ones to fold in his arms the little "toddling" thing, who is crying bitterly on account of her inability to keep up with the rest.

The Indian has a natural craving for excitement. It is true that now, at the sound of the war whoop, his eye does not kindle or his muscles quiver, but let a shoal of porpoises approach a settlement, and the apparently phlegmatic members, old and young, male and female, become at once inspired with intense energy and vitality*. This propensity to undue excitement leads not infrequently to an immoderate desire for stimulants and games of hazard. On entering a wigwam in the neighborhood of Dartmouth, we found a group of men and youths engaged in a game of chance with a number of cents before them, and so intent were they on the play that they scarcely deigned to glance on the intruders. For half an hour we observed their countenances, which were as expressive of anxiety and suppressed excitement as if fortunes were pending on the issue of the game.

The Micmac language is described by those who understand it as copious, flexible, and expressive, the very reverse of what those who do not understand it have oracularly pronounced it. For example, Renan, well known as the author of a Life of Christ, scorning, like Haman in the case of Mordecai the Jew, "to lay hands" on one of the American languages, has, with characteristic flippancy and assurance, cast discredit on the entire number, describing them as discordant cries, variable and unphilosophic, but the French philologist has met with a scorching reply from the Rev. A. Cuoq, a Roman Catholic priest, who has been among the Iroquois and the Algonquins for twenty years, which has attracted notice not only on this continent but also in France. Dr. Dawson has referred in the recent edition of his Acadian Geology to the

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* A gentleman describes the scene, who witnessed it in the Strait of Canso.

fact of the Rev. Mr. Rand tracing a marked analogy between the Greek and Micmac languages. Deductions based on such resemblances in the case of isolated words, as pointing to a common origin, are, however, to be very cautiously received. An eccentric, but acute, Scottish philologist, named McLean, published upwards of thirty years ago a remarkable treatise of nearly three hundred pages, dedicated to the late Sir Robert Peel, in which he endeavoured to prove that the Celtic language "was contemporaneous with the infancy of mankind," or in other words, that it was spoken in the garden of Eden*. Many parts of the book are certainly more amusing than instructive, and the design indicated by the title excites general ridicule, but the amount of analogical evidence produced in support of the general proposition which the author sets himself to establish is such as excites astonishment. It is a somewhat singular coincidence that, in the same year in which McLean's book was published, Dr. Strattan of Canada should have published a small work, in which he traces affinities between the Greek and Gaelic as well as the Latin tongues. Had these authors applied themselves in comparing the Algonquin and Celtic languages, striking resemblances would not have been wanting—the analogies being in some words quite as close as those adduced as existing between the Greek and the Micmac languages.† If such verbal affinities do not present positive proof of the original unity of the various races which people the earth, they at least afford strong presumptive evidence, independently of other corroborative circumstances, that the whole

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* History of the Celtic language, by L. McLean, F.C.S., second edition. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1840.

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	Gaelic	Algonquin.
Island	Inis	Inis
Water	Uisce	Isca
Soft	Bog	Boge

human race had a common origin, or in other words that the Bible account of man's creation and dispersion is both genuine and authentic.

It is remarkable that almost all the early observers of the Indians inhabiting the upper and lower Provinces, should have declared them destitute of any form of worship. Champlain, a distinguished Frenchman, who had ample opportunities of observing the habits and customs of the Micmacs, affirms that they neither worshipped deities nor performed any devotions *. Careful observation has, however, proved beyond doubt that all the Indian tribes believe in the existence of a great good and a great evil spirit. It may,

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* Captain James Quartier, who accompanied Champlain in one of his voyages says—"this people hath not belief of God that may be esteemed, for they believe in one whom they call *Cudouagni*, and say that he often speaketh to them telling them future events. They believe also that when they die they go up unto the stars, and afterwards into fair green fields full of flowers and rare fruits" Champlain himself writes "a savage told me that they verily believe in one God who hath created all things. And when I asked him, seeing that they believe in one only God, by what means he placed them in this world, and from whence they were come? He answered me, that after God had made all things he took a number of arrows, and did stick them into the ground, from whence men and women sprung up who have multiplied in the world till now."

Mr. Richard Brown in his history of the Island of Cape Breton, writing on the authority of Mr. Diereville, who visited Port Royal in the year 1700, as agent of a company of merchants of Rouen, and who in 1710 published an account of his voyage, says: "When the French first settled at Port Royal, the Indians worshipped the sun as their God, which they called Nichakaminon, meaning "very great." They acknowledged him as their maker. They also believed in a devil called Mendon, whom they endeavoured to propitiate by praying to him to protect them from evil. The Jesuit missionaries succeeded in shewing them the folly of these things, but more than one hundred years after their conversion to Christianity, many of their old superstitions had not been eradicated. Even now some of these remain. They will allow a dying person to breathe his last only upon a bed or mattress of spruce boughs, asserting that an Indian can only die upon the kind of bed he has been used to all his life."

indeed, be regarded as incontrovertible, that no tribe or nation has yet been discovered in any part of the world totally devoid of belief in an unseen intelligent power or powers, to whom homage in some form or other is considered due. It would be quite as difficult to find a people devoid of an irrepressible prompting to worship, as to find one without language. The principle of religion is just as deeply rooted in man as the social principle, and quite as difficult to eradicate. The readiness with which the Micmacs submitted to the teaching of the Roman Catholic missionaries who first taught them religious doctrine, and the punctuality and fervour with which they performed their devotions, attested their natural longing for more perfect conceptions of the Supreme Being.

Like many other savage peoples the Micmacs were firm believers in supernatural agencies. The Rev. Mr. Rand has made a collection of their tales, specimens of which have been published*. Considerable skill is displayed in the construction of these tales, which are pervaded by not a little quaint humour, and are redolent of all in which a wild, undisciplined imagination might be supposed to delight. The most renowned personage in Micmac traditional story is Glooscap, a hero whose attributes are a strange combination of the human and the divine—with omnipotent power, which he exerted in providing human conveniences on a large scale. His beaver pond was the basin of Minas—the dam being at Cape Split. Spencer's island was his kettle, which he turned upsidedown. When indignant at the English he suddenly departed from the Peninsula, transforming at the same time his huge dogs into stone. At the motion of his magic wand the Moose and the Cariboo, the Bear and the Lucifee hastened to his side. The elements also were under his control. When his enemies assembled, numerous as the leaves of the

* See New Dominion Magazine for 1870.

forest, he mysteriously extinguished their fires, intensifying the cold to such a degree that, in the morning, the hostile host lay as dead as the army of Sennacherib. But Glooscap was benevolent; strangers were made welcome to his great wigwam, where he entertained them right royally. Tradition asserts he will return again, when his kettle will assume its original form, his petrified dogs spring into life, and his unbounded hospitality be dispensed. In this creation of the Indian brain we have an indication of the gropings of the untutored mind after right conceptions of the character of the Creator.

The number of Indians at present in Nova Scotia, includind Cape Breton, is about sixteen hundred, being about two hundred more than in the adjoining Province of New Brunswick*. Halifax, Digby, Hans, Cape Breton, and Inverness being the counties in which the largest number reside. In the absence of proper inducements to adopt the usages of civilized life, they seem as closely wedded to a wandering life and desultory modes of living as the gipsies of Europe. Some of them have been known, after having apparently settled to ordinary employment for some years, to have returned to their wigwams and resumed all their old unsettled habits. For many years they have been under the supervision of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, but beyond the distribution of a few blankets, and the occasional supply of seed, little has been done to induce systematic, industrious habits. Recent changes in their treatment have, however, been effected, which promise to be of permanent benefit to them. The Province has been divided into seven sections —an agent having been appointed in each—by whom it is hoped discrimination in the distribution of bounties will be exercised, and unauthorised possession of the Indian territorial reserves reported. During the year ending the thirtieth

* See Appendix A.

of June, 1871, nearly four thousand dollars were expended by the Dominion Government, with a view to their present and permanent advantage.

In the Dominion, the Indian Department is under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Provinces. The efforts made in the upper Provinces to secure friendly relations with the various tribes, and to promote their civilization and comfort, have been crowned with signal success. This result has been mainly obtained by assembling the tribes, and arranging with representatives duly appointed by themselves, the terms on which occupancy by settlers, of certain specified territories, may be permitted, making certain allotments, strictly protected by law to the aborigines, encouraging permanent settlement and cultivation of the soil, supplying them with seed and agricultural implements, providing suitable educational machinery in each district, and paying an annual specified sum to each family according to the number of its members; the latter provision acting as an admirable curb-rein in the case of the refractory. Penetrated by the conviction, under such equitable treatment, that their "great mother," the Queen, sincerely desires to promote their happiness and comfort, her red children are in process of becoming loyal and useful subjects. The wisdom of the measures referred to is apparent in the security with which the traveller may traverse British territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in the marked improvement of the natives socially and morally, and in the remarkable fact—occurring probably for the first time in the history of the aborigines of any country invaded, and permanently held by the Caucasian race—that the Indian population of the Dominion, regarded in the aggregate, is actually steadily increasing instead of diminishing.*

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* See Report of the Indian Department, &c., page 59, where Mr.

The Indian agricultural settlement of Tuscarora, Ontario, presents a pleasing illustration of the excellence to which, in that important branch of industry, the aborigines may attain, as well as of the happy results which spring from their judicious and humane treatment in Canada. "Here,"—writes a gentleman who has for many years taken a practical interest in their welfare,—"I found splendid farms, comfortable houses, large barns, good orchards, and two-horse-teams in abundance. The children attend school, and the religious instruction of the people is attended to by an efficient ministry."

Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Department, says—"the population returns found in the appendix, exhibit, it will be perceived, as regards most of the bands, an increase and not a diminution in numbers, and on comparing these with former returns, it will be found to have been continuous. This is doubtless the result of improved habits of life, proper medical treatment, better habitations and sufficient clothing, better food and an ample supply of it. Added to this may be the restraints their religious instructors inculcate, producing the better tone of mind which in many is observable."

CHAPTER II.

Baron de Léry's attempt to make a settlement—Landing of Verazano at Cape Breton—Robert Thorne's voyage—Jacques Cartier's voyages up the St. Lawrence—Mr. Hore's expedition—Sufferings of the party on Newfoundland—Their rescue—Early settlement of Cape Breton—The Fisheries—First voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert—His second voyage—The loss of the "Squirrel"—Attempt at colonization by the Marquis de la Roche—Sufferings of the expedition at Sable Island—Sable Island—Its natural features—Its wild horses—The wreck of the "Arno"—Arrival of Sieur de Monts—He sails up the Annapolis Basin—Beauty of the scenery—Poutrincourt resolves to settle in Annapolis—De Monts ascends St. John river—Winters on the Island of St. Croix—Sufferings of the colonists—Arrival of Pontgrave from France—De Monts returns to France—Discovery of the wild vine at Annapolis—News from France—Departure of the colonists from Port Royal—Arrival at France—Return of Poutrincourt—Baptism of the Indians—Arrival of Jesuits from France—They settle in Penobscot—Capt Argal's attack on Penobscot—He destroys Port Royal—Death of Poutrincourt—Lescarbot's History of the French colonies in America.

The aborigines had roamed the continent, hunting and fishing, waging war and concluding peace for unknown ages, undisturbed to any appreciable extent by any foreign people; but European enterprise was about to extend its operations, though at first on a limited scale, to the extreme eastern portion of it. The first attempt at settlement here seems to have been made by the Baron de Léry in the year 1518. Arriving on the coast late in the season, and being thus unable to construct houses for his people before the winter set in, he wisely resolved to return to France, leaving part of his live stock at Canso and the remainder on Sable

Island. The animals left at Canso either perished during the succeeding winter, or were destroyed by the Indians, whilst a few of those left on Sable Island survived and multiplied.

The next expedition, of which we have any authentic account, was made under the auspices of Francis the First, who despatched four vessels in the month of December, 1523, under the command of a Florentine navigator named Verazano. Encountering a severe storm, three of his vessels were so much damaged that they had to return to France, the "Dolphin" alone, with Verazano on board, continuing the voyage. Land was made on the seventh of March, 1524, on the coast of Carolina. Proceeding northward, Verazano arrived at Cape Breton, where he supplied himself with wood and water, but his provisions being nearly exhausted, he had to steer for France.

The next voyage was one intended to extend to the north pole—the first of a series which have been continued at intervals for three centuries without the attainment of the main object in view. It was suggested to Henry the Eighth by one Robert Thorne, of Bristol. Two well equipped ships, accordingly, left the Thames on the twentieth of May, 1527. "Divers cunning men"—among whom was a learned canon of St. Paul's, an eminent mathematician—are said to have been among the adventurers. The vessels proceeded to Plymouth, whence they sailed on the tenth of June. On the night of the first of July a violent hurricane overtook them, when one of the ships—the Sampson—was lost with all on board. The other, meeting with impenetrable fields of ice, directed her course southward, making Newfoundland and afterwards the mainland, where a considerable time was spent, of which, however, there is no account save a crude letter to the King from John Rut, the captain of the ship. In this communication we have evidence that at this early period the Newfoundland fisheries were prosecuted with spirit,

for in the harbor of St. Johns, Rut found eleven Norman, one Breton, and two Portuguese barques.

The celebrated Jacques Cartier (*) made a voyage to the gulf of the St. Lawrence, in the year 1534, with two vessels, either of which did not exceed sixty tons burthen, making, in the following year, another voyage, when he sailed up the river till he reached Hochelaga—now Montreal—which then, an Indian village, consisted of fifty wooden dwellings!

Another English expedition, at the head of which was a Mr. Hore,—novel, from the circumstance of its having been undertaken by many gentlemen of the Inns of Court and Chancery, was fitted out in the year 1536, under the patronage of King Henry the Eighth. In April of that year one hundred persons—of whom thirty were men of birth and education—embarked in two ships. They first made for the island of Cape Breton, which they reached two months after starting. They afterwards sailed for Newfoundland, where they failed in opening communication with the natives. The vessels were insufficiently provisioned, notwithstanding the affluent circumstances of some of the voyagers. At the island of Newfoundland they were reduced to a state of absolute starvation, depending for sustenance upon roots, and such fish as the parent birds brought to their nests. In the frenzy produced by hunger one or two men were murdered by their companions, when searching for food on the island, and their flesh devoured. Intelligence of what had occurred having reached the ships, the captain of one of them mustered all on board, and addressed his fellow sufferers on the enormity of the crime committed, observing in the language of Hakluyt the historian "that if it had not pleased God to have holpen

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* Jacques Cartier, a French navigator of St. Malo, a seaport of Brittany, sailed under the auspices of the French King, and was the discoverer of the River St. Lawrence.

them in that distress, that it had been better to have perished in body and to have lived everlastingly, than to have relieved, for a poor time, their mortal bodies and to be condemned for ever, both body and soul, to the unquenchable fire of hell. And thus," continues the historian—" having ended, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray that it might please God to look upon their miserable present condition, and of His own mercy to relieve the same." That evening, some of the company agreed to cast lots who should be killed, rather than that all should perish, when lo ! a sail was seen in the distance, which proved to be that of a French ship amply supplied with provisions. But to the disgrace of the English they took forcible possession of her and sailed for England, leaving the Frenchmen, who rescued them from the very jaws of death, in possession of their own dilapidated vessels. The extremity of suffering to which the voyagers had been subjected is indicated by the fact that Mr. Buts, son of Sir William Buts, was not recognised by his own parents till his identity was placed beyond doubt by the discovery of a wart on one of his knees—the historian quaintly adding " as he told me—Richard Hakluyt—himself, to whom I rode two hundred miles, only to learn the whole truth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the only man now alive that was in this discovery."

The reckless voyagers had returned to England about the end of October, and were, in a few weeks, followed by the Frenchmen whom they had robbed, and who lost no time in lodging a formal complaint with King Henry as to the injuries inflicted on them by his subjects. The King, after an examination into the facts, did one of the few graceful acts of his life by making, not only full reparation to the complainants, but by pardoning his subjects on account of the miseries they had already endured. The disastrous results of this voyage damped, for a considerable period, enthusiasm in England in favor of maritime discoveries in the land of the

Baccalaos,* but the lessons taught by the want of due provision for contingencies were not lost on succeeding adventurers.

Mr. Murdoch, in his history of Nova Scotia, says that "French writers state a settlement was made in Cape Breton in the year 1541." On the authority of Charlevoix and others, a fort was then built by Roberval, the Governor of Canada, but beyond the bare announcement by these writers, there is no corroborative evidence to substantiate the assertion. Hence, Mr. Brown, in his history of Cape Breton, suggests that the words Cape Breton were a misprint for Cape Rouge, occurring in Fournier's book, which has been copied by late writers. That no settlement was effected at this early period seems extremely probable from the very significant circumstance that the French Commissioners, writing in the year 1751 their memorials concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, and making as strong a case as possible in behalf of their country—basing their main argument on early settlement—make no allusion to such occupancy, which, had it occurred, they were not likely to omit, as they did not fail to lay stress on the landing of cattle on Sable Island by the Baron de Léry in the year 1518. If a solid argument could be based on so comparatively insignificant an event, in connection with an island so sterile, and at a considerable distance from the territory in dispute, surely the erection of a fort on an island so important as Cape Breton, and in such close proximity to Acadia *proper* could not have been overlooked. The Commissioners say:—"We have not gone into a particular consideration of that part of this article of the French memorial in which the French Commissaries have enquired

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* Tytler says, "Sebastian Cabot himself named these lands Baccalaos, because in the seas thereabouts, he found such an immense multitude of large fish, like tunnies, called Baccalaos by the natives, that they actually impeded the navigation of his ships."

which of the two Crowns went earliest into the design of making settlements in North America, because it seems to us of little consequence to ascertain the intention of either Crown in a matter where the intention, not followed by any actual and successful undertaking, can have no weight; and because we imagine that the most effectual way of proving Great Britain to have been earlier in her American settlements than France, is that which we have taken, of showing that the discovery of Cabot was long before any such voyage being made by the French, and by authenticating that establishment in 1602, which we have done, and which was two years before the era marked by the French Commissaries themselves as the beginning of their settlement." * This passage is of consequence, not only for the reason already assigned, but also as referring to previous historical evidence adduced by the English Commissioners, by which they prove by reference to the "Pilgrims" by Purchas, and the "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," by Lescarbot, published in 1609, that instead of England having effected, as the French Commissioners maintained, no settlement in America till the year 1607, they had establishments there as early as the year 1602, two years, as already stated, before the time fixed by the French commissioners themselves, as that of the first French settlement. † Thus the French Commissioners not only omit the slightest allusion to the erection of a fort in 1541, but positively affirm that the first French settlement took place in the year 1604 —thus furnishing both positive and negative evidence that if such fort was erected, the Commissioners, who made the history of the early settlement of the country a subject of special study, and who could not have been ignorant of the statement as to the erection of a fort by Roberval, did not

* Memorials of the English and French Commissaries, p. 521.

† Appendix B.

believe that statement. These facts, though not alluded to by our literary predecessors, so far as we know, seem to settle the question in dispute, which, to the people of Cape Breton in particular, is one of considerable historical interest.

For forty years after the celebrated expedition of Mr. Hore, no effort was made, either by the reigning monarchs or private capitalists, in prosecuting further discoveries in America. But during that interval, the cod fisheries were conducted with increasing success on the banks of Newfoundland by the French, the Spanish, and the Portuguese, as well as by the British fishermen—the French having, in 1578, one hundred and fifty small vessels, the Spanish one hundred, the Portuguese fifty, and the English fifty, in the trade —the successful prosecution of the Iceland fisheries preventing a larger number of English vessels carrying on the Newfoundland trade.

In that year Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, got a patent from Queen Elizabeth for the discovery and settlement of new lands. Gilbert was a brave, generous-hearted man, and of a remarkably sanguine temperament. His first voyage was unfortunate, for he lost one of the two ships of which the expedition consisted, which obliged him to return to England. Determined to fit out another, he sold his estate, leaving Plymouth with five small vessels on the eleventh of June, 1583. Three days after sailing, fever broke out on board one of the vessels, in consequence of which she returned to Plymouth. Early in August, Sir Humphrey arrived at St. Johns, Newfoundland, where he found thirty-six fishing vessels. On the fifth of August, with imposing ceremony, in the presence of the merchants and the masters of the vessels, he took formal possession for the crown of England, of the harbour and all the country for two hundred leagues round. On the twentieth of the same month, having previously set apart a vessel for the sick, Sir

Humphrey sailed for England with three ships—the *Delight* of 150 tons, the *Hind* of 40 tons, and the *Squirrel* of 10 tons burthen. The *Delight*, in a fog, struck on the northeast bar of Sable Island,—at which Sir Humphrey had intended to touch,—and was lost, only fourteen of the crew having been saved. After this melancholy accident, by which nearly a hundred lives were lost, and which occurred on the twenty-eighth day of August, Sir Humphrey directed his course home-ward. A rumour, to the effect that this brave man was afraid of the sea, having been circulated on his returning from his first voyage, seemed to have annoyed him so much, that, in opposition to the earnest remonstrances of his friends, he persisted in returning in the *Squirrel*, which was overloaded. He was seen by the people in the *Hind*, on the ninth of September, sitting in the stern, with a book in his hand, and was heard to say, alluding to a severe storm they had recently encountered, and in which the *Squirrel* was nearly lost, "we are as near to heaven by sea as by land." During the following night, which was stormy, the lights of the *Squirrel* suddenly disappeared, and she was never heard of again, having evidently foundered. The *Hind* arrived at Falmouth on the twenty-second of September, and so ended this unfortunate expedition.

The first attempt to colonize Nova Scotia was made about the year 1598—the time is disputed—by the Marquis de la Roche, who, having obtained a commission from the French King, equipped a vessel, taking about fifty French convicts with him, and landing them on Sable Island, not, as Mr. Haliburton says, with the view to permanent settlement, but temporarily, till a suitable location should be found for them. The Marquis, driven by a tempest eastward, returned to France, leaving these unhappy men, who would have been starved but for the progeny of the cattle left by the Baron de Léry on the island. Before the winter set in they secured drift wood from the wrecks of Spanish vessels lost on the

coast, which, to some extent, protected them from the severities of winter, but their sufferings were indicated by the circumstance that only twelve of the number were found to have survived when a vessel arrived, which was sent seven years afterwards by the French king for their relief.

Sable Island, rendered famous by this incident, and still more so by the number of shipwrecks which have taken place on its shores, lies about one hundred and ten miles S.E. of Halifax, and has been, in all ages since its first discovery, the terror of mariners. It is shaped like a bow, is about twenty-six miles long, and no where much over a mile wide, having, in its centre, a shallow lake about thirteen miles in length. Its surface consists entirely of sand, which has been formed into hills and ridges by force of wind and wave, and which, in summer, are partially covered with verdure. Along the beach may be seen fragments of vessels, half buried in the sand, which tell of death to many a hardy mariner. There are no trees on the island, the vegetation consisting mainly of long, rank grass. The beach, being exposed on all sides to the billows of the Atlantic, presents a scene of almost uninterrupted commotion. When a storm is approaching, the billows, even in the absence of wind, rise high and break with a peculiar moan on the beach. At night, when the elements are fast mustering for strife, the ocean seems in a blaze of phosphoretic light, and when the wind blows more violently, increasing every moment, the waves take a wider sweep, and, crested with foam, partially driven in spray before the blast, crash on the beach with terrific force. * The scene is described with graphic power in the following lines :—

"But when thy aspect changes—when the storm
Sweeps o'er the wide Atlantic's heaving breast;
When, hurrying on in many a giant form,
The broken waters by the winds are prest,—

* Wreck of the schooner Arno on Sable Island, by Joseph Darby.

Roaring like fiends of Hell which know no rest,
And guided by the lightning's fitful flash,
Who dares look on thee then in terror drest,
As on thy lengthening beach the billows dash,
Shaking the heavens themselves with one long deafening crash?" *

What renders the Island so disastrous to shipping are the subaqueous flats and protuberances of sand by which it is environed, and which are produced by the same causes to which the island owes its origin. When the wind blows violently, the water, by which this dangerous ground is covered being only a few fathoms deep, is agitated from the very bottom far from the beach, and lashed into roaring breakers which no ship, however strong, can withstand. Perhaps the most remarkable instance on record where oil has been successfully used in smoothing the surface of a tempestuous sea, and thus made the means of saving life, is that of the schooner Arno, commanded by Captain Higgins, and cast on Sable Island in the month of September, 1846. This vessel, manned by twelve men, was fishing on the Quero bank when overtaken by a storm. During the night Higgins lost his head sails, and on the following morning saw land, towards which he was fast drifting without the means of changing his course. He accordingly dropped his anchor in twenty fathoms of water, paying out three hundred fathoms of cable, and thus brought the schooner's head to the wind. In this position he held on till noon, when, despairing of the storm abating before night, and convinced that he could not hold out much longer, he resolved to cut, the cable and make for the shore during daylight, as offering the only chance for life. Fixing two large casks of oil near the fore shrouds, he caused two of his best men—having nailed up his cabin door and sent the rest of the hands below—to lash themselves to them, and to deal out the oil

* Sable Island, a Poem, by the Hon. Joseph Howe.

with ladles, throwing it as high as possible. The violence of the blast threw it far to leeward, and it acted as a charm on the troubled sea, spreading in the course of the schooner and making the surface of the mighty waves so smooth that not a barrel full of water fell on the deck the whole distance—the Captain, all the while, lashed to the helm, and with steady hands directing the schooner's course. Around the surface where the oil floated, seas were breaking, any one of which, in the absence of the oil, would have smashed the schooner in fragments. She at length crossed the bar in safety, and struck the beach. The crew were assisted in landing by Mr. Darby, the Superintendent on the island, and his men, and soon after the vessel, went to pieces.

On the island are some hundreds of wild horses, but when the breed was introduced there it is impossible to say. For a graphic description of these interesting animals we are indebted to J. Bernard Gilpin, M.D. "They are divided"—he says—"into herds or gangs, each having a separate pasture, and each presided over by an old male, conspicuous by the length of his mane rolling in tangled masses over eye and ear down to his fore arm. Half his time seems taken up in tossing it from his eyes as he collects his outlying mares and foals on the approach of strangers, and keeping them well up in a pack, boldly faces the enemy whilst they retreat at a gallop. If pressed, however, he too retreats in their rear. He brooks no divided allegiance, and many a fierce battle is waged by the contending chieftains for the honor of the herd. In form they resemble the wild horses of all lands: the large head, thick shaggy neck of the male, low withers, paddling gait, and sloping quarters have all the counterparts in the Mustang and the horse of the Ukraine. The annual drive or herding, usually resulting in the whole island being swept from end to end, and a kicking, snorting, half terrified mass driven into a large pond, from which two

or three dozen are selected, lassoed, and exported to town, affords fine sport, wild riding and plenty of falls."

Upwards of eighty years had now elapsed since Cabot's first voyage to North America, yet neither in Canada nor Acadia had any permanent colonization been accomplished. Much activity had, however, been displayed in peopling other portions of the continent, particularly by the Spaniards. Cortez, in 1519, entered Mexico, and in the space of two years reduced the whole country to the dominion of the King of Spain, after having perpetrated atrocities which have stamped the Spanish nation with an indelible stigma.

The persecutions to which the Huguenots were subjected, and which culminated in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in the year 1572, led to an intense desire on the part of some of the leaders of that body to emigrate to a country where toleration as to religion should exist. With this view Sieur de Monts received a patent in 1603, from King Henry the fourth, an able and liberal-minded monarch, constituting him Lieutenant General of Acadia, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, with the view, as stated in the patent "to cause barbarous Atheists, without faith and religion, to be converted to Christianity, as well as to the great profit which may be drawn by the traffic and commerce which may be safely treated and negotiated." De Monts also received a monopoly of the fur trade in the region assigned him, the advantages thus secured leading to the formation of a company, in which many of the Protestant merchants of Rochelle were shareholders. Four vessels were accordingly prepared, De Monts taking command of two of them, which were bound for Acadia. The adventurers who accompanied him in this expedition consisted of Roman Catholic priests, Protestant ministers, artizans, agriculturalists, and soldiers. Samuel Champlain, an experienced French navigator, and subsequently a well known author, and M. de Poutrincourt, a gentleman of position and

influence, who intended to settle in the country, sailed in the same vessel with De Monts, leaving Havre de Grace on the seventh of March, 1604. Entering one of the harbors of Acadia, they found one Rossignol prosecuting the fur trade. In virtue of his patent, de Monts confiscated the vessel, calling the port—now Liverpool—after the unhappy Rossignol. Proceeding southwest, De Monts entered the bay of St. Mary. Here many of the voyagers landed, and among them a priest named Aubry, who, having separated from his friends and being unable to rejoin them, wandered in the woods for seventeen days, having subsisted during that period on wild fruit, when he was at last discovered by a party of his friends, making feeble efforts to attract attention, and rescued from his perilous position. To no one was his discovery more agreeable than to a Protestant with whom he used to have violent disputes on religious subjects, and who was suspected of having murdered the priest. Proceeding up the Bay of Fundy the party observed a strait—Digby—which they entered.

That portion of Acadia at which the voyagers had now arrived is distinguished by the beauty of its scenery. The coast along which they had previously sailed is comparatively rugged, presenting, when viewed at a distance, few attractive features. But on entering the basin of the Annapolis river the scene is changed, many of the peculiar elements which lend a charm to the Acadian landscape being found in harmonious combination. The basin itself is a great expanse of water, so large as to be scarcely comprehended in all its proportions by the keen glance of unaided vision. We can imagine the day one of unclouded splendour, the heat of summer being tempered by the cooling sea breeze. Fleecy clouds may have occasionally floated across the sun's disc, casting a temporary shadow on wood and water, alternate glimpses of shade and sunshine producing by contrast a pleasing variety in the variegated colours of the "forest primeval." Or we can fancy the vessel, wafted in the evening

through the strait by a gentle breeze, and when fairly within the basin, the wind to have died away, leaving the sails hanging loosely, and the surface of the water resplendent in the distance with the reflected rays of the declining sun. Towards the east, islands repose on the bosom of the deep, their forms being vividly mirrored on its placid surface, and from which canoes may be seen darting towards the mainland, with their paddles fitfully flashing in the sunlight. In the distance are no ranges of lofty mountains with snow-clad peaks shooting heavenward, but there are graceful, undulating hills, thickly clad, from base to summit, with wood, constituting an admirable background to the whole scene. In silent admiration the voyagers gaze on the enchanting picture, and particularly Poutrincourt, on whom the impression is such that he resolves to make the place his home. An examination of the land confirms the opinion as to its suitableness, and he obtains a grant from De Monts which, as we shall find, was afterwards confirmed to him by royal warrant.

Leaving the basin of the Annapolis, De Monts sailed towards Minas—now Horton. He then crossed the bay towards the river St. John which he ascended, being delighted with the scenery as well as astonished at the quantity of fish with which its waters teemed. Proceeding in a southwesterly direction about twenty leagues further he arrived at what is generally supposed to have been the bay of Passamaquoddy. Here De Monts found an island on which he resolved to build a fort and winter, and which he named St. Croix. He and his party passed a miserable winter, suffering, according to Lescarbot from three causes—want of water, want of wood, and the constant watch necessary to be kept, for fear of a hostile visit from the Indians. They were attacked by scurvy, which carried off thirty-six of their number, leaving forty suffering more or less from the same malignant disease. The dawn of spring was hailed with satisfaction by the in-

valids. Their leader resolved to look out for a more eligible place, with a view to settlement, and for that purpose sailed towards the bay of Pentagoet or Penobscot, which, on the map published by the English Commissioners in 1755, was the extreme western limit of Acadia at that period. Finding the Indians in that region thievish and unfriendly, De Monts returned to St. Croix, where he was cheered by finding that one Pontgrave had arrived, in a ship from France, with forty men and abundant supplies for the little colony. De Monts at once resolved to break up his present encampment, and to remove with everything to Port Royal—Annapolis—which was done accordingly, after which he sailed for France, for which his friend Poutrincourt had left in the previous autumn, leaving Pontgrave his lieutenant, with instructions to Champlain to explore the country.

During the ensuing winter the colonists opened a satisfactory trade with the Indians, passing a pleasant winter, the only material drawback being the scarcity of bread. They had, however, plenty of corn, the only grinding apparatus being a hand mill or "quern." When the spring opened, Pontgrave resolved to sail further south in order to search for a still more desirable place of settlement. Twice he was driven back by contrary winds, and in making the third attempt, his vessel was driven on the rocks near the entrance to the harbour, which compelled him to desist for the time from any further attempts at exploration.

It is now the summer of 1606, and De Monts and Poutrincourt are preparing in France for another voyage. They had difficulties to contend with. Influence had been brought to bear on the French monarch to withdraw from De Monts the monopoly of the fur trade, against which the ordinary traders had protested loudly, whilst the merchants who invested capital in the previous expedition were dissatisfied with unremunerative returns. At length a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons was prepared, which left Rochelle on

the thirteenth of May, De Monts and Poutrincourt being accompained on this occasion by Marc Lescarbot, who became the most able historian of the French colonial transactions of that period. On the twenty-sixth of July they arrived at Port Royal, where they only found two men, who had been left in charge of the place, Pontgrave having left with the intention of returning to France; but hearing of the arrival of De Monts at Canso, he immediately returned to Port Royal. Speaking of this reunion of friends, Lescarbot says, "all the month we made merry. M. de Poutrincourt did set up and open a hogshead of wine, one of them that was given him for his own drinking, giving leave to all comers to drink as long as it could hold."

In the meantime Poutrincourt and Lescarbot set themselves vigorously to the cultivation of the soil, and had, in a few days, the satisfaction of seeing the seed sown spring up with the rapidity of growth characteristic of the climate. It is now the month of August, and De Monts and Pontgrave resolve to return to France, leaving Poutrincourt to explore the coast, and Lescarbot to take charge of the settlement, a duty for which his industry and ingenuity admirably adapted him. Amongst other functions, in the absence of a priest, he acted as religious instructor to the Indians, whom he taught the sublime and comforting truths of the Christian religion. This eminent man, in writing of the motives by which he was actuated in leaving his native land to seek a home in Acadia, expresses sentiments which at once bespeak the Christian and the patriot; "so it is," he says, "that God awaketh us sometimes to stir us up to generous actions such as be these voyages."

Poutrincourt proceeded on a coasting trip towards Cape Mallebarre—Cape Cod—having first visited St. Croix. Some of the party were attacked, when ashore, by the Indians, three or four of them having been killed. Lescarbot gives a circumstantial account of all the incidents of the trip,

which our limits will not permit us to describe. Poutrincourt, after an absence of more than two months, returned to Port Royal, where he was joyfully received by Lescarbot, who had begun to doubt his safety, and "with a solemnity altogether new in that part."

The winter, which had been comparatively mild, seems to have been passed pleasantly at Port Royal. In the spring the colonists were busy sowing seed, and, says Lescarbot, "it was a marvellous pleasure to see it daily springing up." They built a water-mill, which the Indians very much admired, all the more that it saved the toil of grinding corn with the hand mill, to which they had intense aversion, and to which even the high remuneration of half the corn ground could not reconcile them.

Lescarbot, and other early writers, frequently mention grapes as growing in Acadia. The first discovery of the wild vine seems to have been made in a small island near Pentagoet during the voyage just referred to. The island was situated about two hundred miles further west than Port Royal, and in the same latitude. It is described as being about half a league in circumference, and as abounding in black grapes, some of them being "as large as plums." "The trunks of the vines," says Lescarbot, "were three or four feet high, and as big as one's fist in the lower part, the grapes fair and large. They lay over bushes and brambles that grew in the same island, where the trees are not so thick as in other places, but are six or seven rods asunder, which causes the grapes to be ripe the sooner, having besides, ground very fit for the same, gravelly and sandy." The same respectable authority adds; "grapes were afterwards found on the lands near Port Royal, but not in such perfection." * The finding of this fruit in the country has been doubted, but the descriptions of it are so circum-

* Nova Francia, p. 832.

stantial, and the allusions to it so frequent, that it seems impossible consistently to resist such cumulative and unequivocal testimony by men to whom the grape was as familiar as the apple. Fine samples of grapes produced in the open air are yearly exhibited by the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers' Association, and from the fact of the vine being indigenous to the province, it may be fairly assumed that when due care is taken as to the nature of the soil and the exposures where the vines are planted, the quality will be greatly improved. If the native vine were cultivated it might produce fruit in greater perfection than what is now obtained from the foreign. *

The Colonists were now anxious for the arrival of De Monts from France, when one morning Memberton, an Indian chief, represented as a hundred years old, and a firm friend to the French, informed Lescarbot and his friends that a vessel was approching the entrance to the harbor, which he was said to have descried at a distance at which she could scarcely be detected by the keenest vision. The whole colony immediately turned out to welcome the stranger, which, however, brought news not of a joyful nature, for a dispatch addressed to Poutrincourt, which he proceeded to read publicly, informed the colonists that De Monts had been deprived by the king of the monopoly of the peltry trade. This was regarded as death to the colony; "we felt," says the historian, "great grief to see so fair and so holy an enterprise broken, that so many labours and perils past should serve to no effect, and that the hope of planting the name of God, and the Catholic faith should vanish away." In the evening, however, the prevailing gloom was gilded, in French fashion, by bonfires for the

* McGregor in his sketches of British America, published about the year 1828, says: "wild vines covering several acres have lately been discovered near Digby," but unfortunately he does not state his authority.

nativity of "my Lord the Duke of Orleans," and by the firing of cannon and singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*.

Fifteen days after these events it was a busy time at Port Royal, the Micmacs giving proof of their propensity to war by assembling, at the command of Memberton, to the number of four hundred, in order to attack their neighbours the Armouchiquois, who inhabited a district further west. After a conflict, in which the Armouchiquois were defeated, the Micmac army returned, rejoicing in their success.

Preparations were now made for retiring from the country. With that view Lescarbot, on the thirtieth of July, 1607, left for Canso, where he was to be joined by Poutrincourt in eleven days, after he had secured samples of his growing crops. Memberton and his army had just arrived as Poutrincourt was about to bid adieu, at least for a time to Port Royal. The aged chief prevailed upon him to remain one day longer. The poor Indians shed tears of unaffected sorrow in parting with their friends the French, who generously presented them with ten hogsheads of meal, and all the standing crops then ready for the sickle. The almost uninterrupted friendship, which had subsisted between the French and the Micmacs from the very beginning of their intercourse, is easily accounted for by the tact the former displayed in their management, which was based on genuine acts of beneficence, and due attention to their instruction in the arts of civilized life, and in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith.

Poutrincourt having joined his friends at Canso, the whole party sailed for France on the third day of September—leaving not one European in Acadia. On the twenty-sixth day of the same month they sighted the English coast, arriving on the twenty-eighth at St. Malo. Reaching Paris, Poutrincourt lost no time in presenting himself at court, exhibiting by Royal command the samples of wheat, rye, barley and oats which he had brought with him. The King, pleased with these evi-

dences of the fertility of the soil, renewed to De Monts the privileges of the beaver trade for one year, in order to enable him to establish colonies in New France, which comprehended Canada as well as Acadia. Lescarbot says a few families were accordingly sent, but whether to Canada or Acadia is not stated. He says, however, that the vessels, in which they had embarked, called at Port Royal, and the French were received by the old chief with every demonstration of respect. After this, De Monts ended his connection with Acadia, and prosecuted the peltry trade on his own account in Canada.

The favourable impression made on Poutrincourt, on entering the basin of the Annapolis, seems to have been confirmed by residence at Port Royal. Hence he resolved to return to the settlement, and, with that view, petitioned the King for a confirmation of the grant of land made to him by De Monts, which His Majesty accordingly ratified, on the understanding that he was to be accompanied by Jesuit missionaries, towards whose maintenance the King had made an appropriation. Poutrincourt, though a sincere Roman Catholic, adroitly threw difficulties in the way, and it was probably to avoid the introduction of these unwelcome spiritual teachers that he postponed leaving for Acadia till the spring of 1610; and whilst the Jesuits were waiting for him at Bourdeaux, he was quietly embarking at Dieppe, taking with him a Roman Catholic priest of the name of Flèche. Determined to prove to the King that the Jesuits were not needed, he took measures to christianize some of the leading Indians. The old chief Memberton and his family were the first who were baptized—the sacred rite having been performed with much solemnity in the presence of all the Colonists. After the chief had thus openly made a profession of his faith, there was little difficulty in getting his subjects to follow his example, so far as attendance to outward forms was concerned.

Supplies for the colony were now needed, and Poutrincourt sent his son Biencourt to France in order to obtain them, sending with him a register of the baptisms; but Henry the Fourth had been assassinated, and the influence of the wife of the Governor of Paris—the Marchioness Guercheville, a keen Jesuit,—was such that Poutrincourt's expectations as to the effect of his register were not realized. It was therefore resolved to send two Jesuit fathers, Pierre Biard and Enemonde Masse, to Port Royal, and for that purpose they proceeded to Dieppe, from which port Biencourt was to sail. Here two Huguenot merchants, who had made advances on the cargo, objected to the fathers leaving in the vessel. The difficulty being reported to the zealous Marchioness, she at once succeeded in providing the requisite sum to refund the objectors, and thus Biencourt was obliged, very much against his desire, to take the fathers with him, sailing on the twenty-sixth of January, 1611, and arriving at Port Royal, after intermediate stoppages, on the twenty-second of June.

Poutrincourt left again for France in July, 1611, leaving his son in charge of Port Royal. The young man and the Jesuits not agreeing, the latter were glad to avail themselves of an opportunity of leaving for Penobscot, where a new settlement had been made by their patroness, the Marchioness de Guercheville.

For some years the English had effected a settlement in Virginia, the colony numbering in the year 1613, about seven hundred souls. In the summer of that year, Captain Argal, who commanded a ship armed with fourteen guns, went northward towards Acadia with a fleet of fishing vessels. Hearing of the French colony on the Penobscot river, he resolved to break it up, though England was at that time at peace with France. A French vessel close to the settlement was accordingly attacked by Argal, the crew of which made a brave resistance against an overpowering force. Argal took possession of the vessel, and, landing in the settlement, made

the members of the colony prisoners, some of whom were taken to Jamestown, and the rest allowed to retire in a shallop, to look out for a vessel to take them to France. The Governor of Virginia approved of the conduct of Argal, and despatched three vessels, of which he took command, to destroy the French colonies in Acadia. At St. Croix and other places the buildings were demolished. Argal then sailed for Port Royal, where a similar scene was enacted, all compromise being refused to Biencourt, who fled to the forest, and lived with the Indians. In the following year, his father Poutrincourt arrived at Port Royal, which he found a scene of desolation. He accordingly resolved to leave Acadia forever, which he did, returning to France, and fell fighting bravely in the service of his country at the seige of Méry-sur-Seine in the month of December, 1615. According to Champlain, Biencourt remained in Acadia till his death, which occurred in the year 1624.

We cannot close this chapter without expressing admiration of the excellencies by which the work of Lescarbot is distinguished. The narrative is both interesting and truthful, and the modesty of the author is conspicuous in never introducing himself or his doings, giving credit for all that was accomplished to others in transactions in which, had he written the whole truth, he would have figured more prominently than any of his friends. There are also, throughout his work, evidences of scholarship, as well as flashes of quiet humour, and indications of unaffected piety, which leave, in closing his book, a most favourable impression as to the author's character and acquirements.

CHAPTER III.

Sir William Alexander—Receives a grant from James I., and sails for Nova Scotia—Sir David Kirk takes Port Royal—Defeats the French fleet—Surrender of Quebec—Claude de la Tour—His efforts to seduce his son from French allegiance—Treaty of St. Germains—Restoration of territory to France—Arrival of the French governor—Division of the province between Charnisé and Charles de la Tour—Their rivalry and disputes—La Tour gets aid from the Bostonians—Capitulation of La Tour's fort to Charnisé—His cruelty to the garrison—Death of Madame De la Tour—Death of Charnisé—La Tour succeeds him as governor—Seizure of the French forts by Major Sedgewick—Oliver Cromwell's policy—Death of La Tour—Limits of Nova Scotia—Efforts of the French to regain it—Their success—Reluctance of Sir Thomas Temple to give it up—Progress of the province—Population—Character of the French governor—Taxation of coal—War between France and England—Sir William Phips—He commands expedition from Boston to attack Port Royal—Surrender of the fort—Revocation of the conditions of capitulation by Sir William Phips—He attacks Quebec—Disasters of the expedition—Barbarities practised by the Indians on English settlers—Nova Scotia again transferred to France by the treaty of Ryswick—War again declared—An expedition from Boston attacks Port Royal and is repulsed—M. Subercase—He strengthens Port Royal—His efforts to colonize the country.

After the expulsion of the French from Port Royal by Captain Argal in the year 1613, no attempt at settlement was made under the auspices of the English government till 1621, when King James the first, of England, made a grant which included Acadia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and part of Lower Canada to Sir William Alexander, a native of Scotland, who was born in the year 1580 in the village of Menstrie, in Clackmannanshire,

and who was a poet and dramatist of considerable reputation. In the year after Sir William had secured this immense territory, he chartered a vessel, in which a number of emigrants embarked for the purpose of settling in Nova Scotia—the country being so designated in his patent instead of Acadia. In a work published by Sir William in London in 1625—entitled "*An Encouragement to Colonies*"—he gives an interesting account of the voyage. The vessel sailed in August, 1622 About the middle of September she had approached the island of Cape Breton, when a violent gale drove her far to the east. Having at length arrived at Newfoundland, the emigrants determined to winter on the island, sending the ship back to Britain for supplies. In the following spring she was again despatched, but did not arrive at St. John's till the fifth of June, before which time many of the emigrants, despairing of her return, had engaged themselves to the fishermen. A few of them, however, went on a cruise towards the Peninsula in order to inspect the land—returning in a few weeks, and taking passage to England, whither they carried flattering accounts of the country.

In the meantime, Charles the first had ascended the throne, and Sir William not only obtained a confirmation of the grants made to him by King James, but also the addition of an immense territory, which led to the formation of a company, designated "The Merchant Adventurers of Canada." One of them was the celebrated Sir David Kirk, who was born at Dieppe, and whose father was a Scotsman, and his mother a French woman. Two or three armed vessels were prepared, of which Kirk took command, who sailed, under a commission from the King of England, to attack the French settlements in North America, and take French merchant vessels as prizes, of which he secured, in 1627, not fewer than eighteen, taking them to England. In the following year, Port Royal was taken by him. He then summoned Quebec, of which Champlain was the governor. The latter

returned a defiant answer, and Kirk deemed it prudent to withdraw in the meantime. Hearing that vessels had left France with supplies for the colony, Kirk resolved to look out for them. Eighteen transports, under the command of Sieur de Roquemont, arrived at Gaspé with provisions, and one hundred and thirty-four cannon for the forts of Port Royal and Quebec. De Roquemont, having heard that Kirk was at Tadousac, resolved to attack him. The result of the engagement was that the French were defeated, and all the transports taken.

In the meantime, Champlain was suffering intensely for want of provisions, and had resolved to leave Quebec, when Kirk appeared with his squadron and summoned the fort, which was accordingly surrendered. Kirk treated the inhabitants with great kindness, permitting such of them as wished to remain to retain their property, and after having made satisfactory arrangements, left the fort in charge of his son, with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men.

Among the prisoners taken in one of the vessels captured was Claude de la Tour, a French Protestant, who had recently obtained an extensive grant of land on the river St. John, and whom Kirk conveyed with Champlain and others to England.

Charles, the son of Claude de la Tour, commanded a French fort at Cape Sable. His father, while in England, had married a lady of rank, and having been created in 1629 a Baronet of Nova Scotia, entered into an arrangement to seduce his son Charles from his allegiance to the French King. Two men-of-war were accordingly fitted out, and, with De la Tour on board, sailed for Cape Sable, where having arrived, he had an interview with his son, to whom he presented a glowing picture of the personal advantages he would derive from giving up the fort, and identifying himself with English interests. His son replied with a spirit and determination highly honorable to his character, that to comply with his

father's wishes would be to become a traitor to his King, intimating his determination to defend the fort to the utmost extremity, and even to sacrifice his life rather than his honor. Finding his son resolute De la Tour ordered an attack on the fort, which was continued for two days, and which resulted in the defeat of the attacking force. De la Tour now found himself in an awkward position. To return to France was death, and to England disgrace. He therefore requested his son to permit him to settle quietly with his wife in the neighborhood, to which the young man consented, on the condition that his father was never to enter the fort. De la Tour and his wife with two valets and two female servants, accordingly landed, and the two men-of-war returned to England. Haliburton says that in the following year De la Tour joined a party of emigrants who landed at Port Royal, and built a fort at Granville, the remains of which were visible when he wrote, being known by the traditionary name of the Scotch fort. According to Denys, as related by Murdoch, he was found at Cape Sable in 1635; but Ferland's account seems to explain the matter satisfactorily by representing De la Tour as having gone to Port Royal with the Scotch colonists, and returning by invitation, on his son Charles being appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Acadia, in 1631. A number of the emigrants having died during the first winter at Granville, and the extensive colonial speculations, in which Sir William Alexander was engaged, not proving profitable, induced him in the year 1630 to transfer all Nova Scotia, except Port Royal, to his friend Claude de la Tour.

It is now the year 1632, and, after prolonged negotiations, peace is proclaimed between Great Britain and France by the treaty of Saint Germains, which was the first public treaty between the two Crowns, which settled the possession of Nova Scotia. Notwithstanding that Sir David Kirk, in conjunction with Sir William Alexander, and others

had forced the French from both sides of the river Saint Lawrence, and taken Quebec, Port Royal, Saint Croix and Pentagoet, which were all the territories France then had in North America, yet by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Saint Germains all these places were restored to the Crown of France. This wholesale disposal of North America by the English Government to the French, indicates the trifling value put upon the territory by the government of the time, and viewed in relation to its consequences, can scarcely be regarded as compatible with sanity on the part of the advisers of the English Crown. The value at which the French estimated the country is proved by their procedure in organising an association designated "The Company of New France," with which some of the most prominent men in France were connected, and whose object was colonization on an extensive scale. The constitution of the company seemed admirable, but its proceedings did not at all correspond with the expectations formed at its organization.

Isaac de Razilly was now appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. Arriving at La Havre, he was so charmed with the scenery, that he resolved to settle there. He, however, died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded by Daubré de Charnisé, who abandoned La Havre and removed to Penobscot. Razilly had brought with him from France letters patent, by which Nova Scotia, according to the limits then recognised, was divided between himself, and Charles the son of Claude de la Tour, and Denys. The division of the province led to disputes and bloodshed. Charnisé and De la Tour were specially antagonistic. Intelligence of the contests between these rivals having reached France, the King interfered, assigning to each the specific limits to which his authority was to be confined. This did not, however, allay the storm. Charnisé succeeded, in 1641, in obtaining from France a Royal Warrant for the apprehension of his rival,

which, however, he found it impossible to effect, as the forces on both sides were pretty equally balanced. Both parties applied to the Bostonians for assistance, but De la Tour was more successful than his rival in commanding the sympathy of that Protestant community, chiefly on account of his wife, a singularly excellent, able and energetic woman, being of that persuasion, combined with the trade relations that subsisted between De la Tour and some of the leading merchants of the town.

In the year 1643, De la Tour's fort on the river Saint John was blockaded by his enemy, when a vessel arrived containing supplies for the garrison, and one hundred and forty emigrants. Knowing that the vessel could not pass the blockading squadron, he resolved to leave, in the meantime, the defence of the fort to his men, and, with his wife, to visit Boston, in order, if possible, to obtain aid. Great was the commotion in the town on their arrival. The Puritan divines set themselves to the examination of scripture in order to find, if possible, a sanction for the solicited assistance, which resulted in a nice balancing of opinion, with a slight preponderance in favor of Bostonian popular inclination. The result was permission being granted to De la Tour to charter vessels and engage men for his purpose.

On the fourteenth of July, 1643, the expedition sailed, duly arriving at the river Saint John, when Charnisé prudently took to flight, whether to Penobscot or Port Royal, is historically doubtful. Despairing of conquering a rival so active and enterprising as De la Tour without a strong force, Charnisé went to France, in order to consolidate his court influence, and obtain the necessary assistance. He returned, however, without being accompanied by military aid. The wife of De la Tour at the same time visited England, and returned in a vessel which she chartered for Saint John, but the master of the vessel, despite the remonstrances of the lady, went up the Saint Lawrence to trade with the Indians, for which breach of

contract she, on the arrival of the vessel at Boston, recovered two thousand pounds damages, with which she purchased additional supplies, and returned to Saint John.

Charnisé hearing in the spring of 1645 that De la Tour was absent, and that his fort was only garrisoned by fifty men, determined to attack it. Madame De la Tour, inspired with heroism equal to that of her husband, resisted the attack bravely, killing and wounding a considerable number of the attacking force. Charnisé proposed a capitulation, which was agreed to. The villain having thus obtained entrance, hanged all the brave defenders save one, who was the executioner of the rest, and with cowardly vindictiveness compelled the noble woman to witness, with a halter round her neck, the execution of her courageous soldiers. Great spoil was found in the fort, which Charnisé conveyed to Penobscot. Madame de la Tour, broken in health by the inhuman treatment she received, died soon after this event. She was a heroine of the highest type, beloved and esteemed by all who knew her.

There is a difference of opinion as to the date at which the fort on the St. John river fell into the hands of Charnisé, some representing the event as occurring in 1645, and others in 1647. It is certain that Charnisé did not long enjoy his triumph, for he died in 1650, leaving a record in which none of the finer features of humanity are discernible. The section of the province in which he resided for seventeen years, and which he governed for a considerable portion of that period, derived no benefit from his administration. He was opposed to immigration, and not respected by his servants, who found him a hard taskmaster.

After the death of Charnisé, La Tour was again in favor at the French court; for in February, 1651, he was made Governor of the Province. In 1653 he married the widow of Charnisé, his late antagonist; an event which tended to bring all existing disputes to an amicable termination. But

La Tour was not destined to rule the Province in security, for Le Borgne, a merchant of Rochelle, who had a heavy claim against the estate of Charnisé, came out to the Province to claim, under legal authority, possession of his estates. But a more formidable enemy arrived in the year 1654, in the person of Major Sedgwick, who was ordered by the marvellously energetic Oliver Cromwell to attack the French forts in Nova Scotia, and take possession of the country. Sedgwick accordingly forcibly seized the forts of Pentagoet, St. John and Port Royal—France and England being at peace—on the plea that a certain sum of money which France had promised on the cession of Nova Scotia had not been paid. The truth is that the Great Protector was indignant at the Government which gave up British territory in North America to France, and had determined to wrest it from her grasp when a plausible pretext for doing so presented itself, holding as he did that the country was the property of England by right of discovery. France loudly complained of such hostile action in time of peace, and pertinaciously insisted on the restoration of the territory; but so impressed was Cromwell with the folly of the cession that he preferred hazarding a war to compliance with the demand of restitution; and when the treaty of Westminster was concluded, in 1655, through the firmness of the Protector, Nova Scotia remained in possession of England.

La Tour, after the English had obtained the mastery, petitioned Cromwell for the restoration of his property, basing his claim mainly on the grant made by Sir William Alexander to his late father. The petition was favorably received, and letters patent granted by which Sir Charles St. Stephen, La Tour, Thomas Temple and William Crowne were put in possession of all the lands called Acadia, and that part of the country called Nova Scotia—Thomas Temple being appointed Governor.

La Tour seems to have remained in quiet possession of his property till about 1666, when he died. Contradictory estimates of his character have been formed. Mr. Haliburton mentions an act of his life, on the authority of Hubbard, bearing the impress of falsity on the very face of it, and so opposed to his general character as to be utterly incredible. After his fort had been taken the people of Boston, with whom he was a favorite, are said to have advanced him a sum of money, and furnished him with a vessel to trade with the Indians. What return is he represented as having made? He took forcible possession of the vessel, put on shore, on an uninhabited part of the country, the Englishmen who were in charge of her, where they wandered for fifteen days in the depth of winter in a destitute condition. Is it possible that La Tour, in the days of his adversity, could have made this return for the kindness of the people of Boston? He had been brought up in the Protestant faith, but became a Roman Catholic—though a most liberal one—a circumstance which in that age was quite sufficient to account for the malignity of religious bigotry in which the grave charge probably originated. We cannot believe that the man, who in his youth resolutely resisted parental blandishments and the temptation of riches and honors to swerve from fidelity to his king and country, who hazarded his life in the maintenance of his honor, and whose character otherwise was without a stain, could at once have descended to the perpetration of a deed at which humanity shudders, and for which even a plausible motive has not been assigned. If true, the deed would have been universally known and loudly denounced in Boston, and as affecting the character of one of the most prominent colonists, must have reached the acute ear of Cromwell, who, if satisfied of the truth of the charge, would not for a moment have regarded the petition of such a character, nor placed him in a position of honor and influence.

After Cromwell had wrested Nova Scotia from France, the English had possession of the coast from Cape Canso to New England, while the French retained the shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the island of Cape Breton. In the second volume of the "Jesuits' Relations," Acadia is described as that part of New France which faces the sea, and which extends from New England, as far as Gaspé, till it meets the entrance of the great river St. Lawrence; this differs essentially from the English geographical limits. But into a consideration of the disputes between the British and French Governments as to the limits of Nova Scotia, it would be equally tedious and unprofitable in any part of this work to enter. The State documents bearing on the subject are both numerous and voluminous, the claims of the British to possession being mainly based on early discovery, and those of the French on priority of settlement. The bounds for which the English always contended are clearly defined in a map annexed to the "Memorials of the English and French Commissaries concerning the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia," published in London in the year 1755, embracing, with the present recognized limits, the Province of New Brunswick and part of the State of Maine.*

When the treaty of Westminster was concluded, Cromwell adroitly evaded the solicitation of France for the restoration of the Province, proposing to refer the matter to the consideration of commissioners; but nothing definite resulted from that proposition. The question was not again revived till the year 1662, when M. d'Estrades, then ambassador in London from the Court of France, received instructions to demand restitution from King Charles the Second. In consequence of this demand, commissioners

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* The volume referred to is in the Halifax Library.

were appointed to discuss the right of the two Crowns, in the presence of His Majesty, which was done, but no measure of State followed. So sensitively alive to the importance of the retention of Nova Scotia were the New Englanders that, on learning the demand of the French king, they immediately transmitted a petition to the King and Parliament of Great Britain, praying that Nova Scotia might not be restored to the French. By the spirited action of the people of New England the renewal of the fatal policy of the Government of Charles was postponed till 1667, when, by the treaty of Breda, the folly of 1632 was re-enacted by the restoration of Nova Scotia to the Crown of France, in violation of the rights of Sir Thomas Temple and other British subjects who had expended large sums of money in placing the forts in a proper state of defence. M. Nourillon du Bourg being commissioned under the great seal of France, on the twenty-first of October, 1668, to receive Acadia from Sir Thomas Temple, then Governor, delivered to him at the same time a letter from the King of England, dated the thirty-first of December, 1667, under his signet, containing his order for its surrender. But Sir Thomas declined to give up the Province, on the ground of indistinctness in the description of the territory to be ceded. The king, not appreciating the force of the objection, on the representation of the French ambassador, sent final orders under his sign manual to Sir Thomas to restore all the forts which he held, conformably with the tenth and eleventh articles of the treaty of Breda. Further resistance being impossible, the Governor yielded to necessity, delivering the forts to the Chevalier de Grand Fontaine, who had been appointed French Governor of the country. England had retained possession of the Province from the period of Cromwell's expedition, in 1654, to 1670; but a radical defect in her Colonial policy was, that decided steps were not taken to people the country, even to a limited

extent, with the Anglo-Saxon race. The French inhabitants had continued under the rule of Cromwell in quiet possession of their property, whilst there was no augmentation of the population by English immigration. It seems almost incredible that when the French Governor took a census of the population in the year 1671, the entire body of Europeans did not exceed four hundred souls.

In the year 1674, the Government of Cape Breton was made subordinate to that of Quebec, which was the head-quarters of the Commander-in-chief of all New France. France appointed, within seventeen years after the treaty of Breda, five Governors, all of whom were an inferior order of men, who made it their business to traffic with the natives in order to enrich themselves, without evincing any of the higher qualities of their predecessors. The little progress made in colonization is proved by the circumstance that when the census was again taken, in 1686, the number of inhabitants in the Province, including thirty soldiers, was only nine hundred and twelve, which in a short time was reduced to eight hundred and six. Whilst Nova Scotia was suffering from the rapacity and misgovernment of its Governors, Nicholas Denys, who had extensive property in Cape Breton, granted by royal letters patent, and who had formed a high estimate of the resources of the island, was busily engaged in cultivating the soil, and otherwise promoting the material interests of the country. The coal mines began at this time to attract attention, as in the year 1677 a French order was issued by which Denys was authorized to collect a tax on all coal exported from the island, the tax being fixed at twenty sous for each ton.

In the year 1689, on the accession of William and Mary, a war broke out between France and England, having been declared in England in the month of May, and in Boston in December following. Anticipating a contest, extensive preparations were made both in Britain and New England

for its vigorous prosecution. It was resolved to strike, if possible, a decisive blow at French power in North America, and means considered commensurate with the design were adopted. The population of the English Colonies at this time was about two hundred thousand, while that of Canada was only about nine thousand, thus giving England an immense advantage over France in a war to be waged at so great a distance from the parent States. An expedition was prepared at Boston, whose object was to attack Port Royal—Annapolis—of which Sir William Phips was appointed commander. Phips was born about sixty miles west of Penobscot. His father was a blacksmith, and Phips followed, in his youth, the humble occupation of a shepherd. He was apprenticed to a carpenter, and on the expiration of his indenture built a vessel for himself, which he navigated. Hearing of a Spanish wreck near the Bahama Islands, he went thither, but failed in recovering the cargo, which consisted of bullion and coin. When thirty-three years of age, he was sent by the British Government to make a similar attempt on a Spanish wreck near Port-de-la-Plata, in which he likewise failed. Five years subsequently, the Duke of Albemarle, being then Governor of Jamaica, provided the means for another attempt in the case of the latter wreck. Diligent search was made for the wreck at the place where the ship was said to have gone down, and further search was about being abandoned, when a sea feather was seen from one of the boats. An Indian descending to bring it up, discovered guns at the bottom; and on a second descent brought up a mass of silver. The good news was at once communicated to Captain Phips, who succeeded in recovering gold, silver and jewels to the value of £300,000 sterling. For this service he was knighted. Such was the man who took charge of the expedition to Port Royal.

The squadron, consisting of a frigate of forty guns, two

sloops—one of sixteen and the other of eight guns—and four small vessels, in which a force of seven hundred men and boys were embarked, left Boston on the twenty-eighth of April, 1690. M. de Menneval was then Governor of Nova Scotia, residing at Port Royal, and had only a garrison of eighty-six men. The fort was in a dilapidated condition, the guns not being even placed in battery. On the attacking squadron approaching the bay, the guard at the entrance fired a mortar, being the pre-concerted signal of approaching danger, and hastened in a canoe to Port Royal. The squadron immediately entered the bay, and anchored a short distance from the fort. Phips sent a trumpeter to summon the garrison to surrender at discretion. Menneval, knowing it would be vain to attempt any resistance, despatched M. Petit, a priest, to Phips, in order to obtain, if possible, favorable conditions. The latter having no idea of the defenceless condition of the fort, agreed verbally to the following terms: First, that the Governor and soldiers should, with their arms and baggage, be sent to Quebec; second, that the inhabitants should retain possession of their property; third, that they should have the free exercise of their religion, and that the Church should not be injured. On the keys being delivered to Phips, he was chagrined at the terms which had been granted, and which he regarded as having been obtained on false pretences. Some property having been taken by drunken soldiers from one of the stores, was made the pretext for a revocation of the capitulation. The Governor and soldiers were accordingly made prisoners, including Messrs. Petit and Trouvé, ecclesiastics, and conveyed to Boston. Phips, on this occasion, disgraced the uniform which he wore by breaking his word of honor, of which, when requested by M. Petit to put the terms of capitulation in writing, he superciliously boasted as being as good as his bond. Governor Menneval violated no principle of honor in not informing Phips of the actual condition

of the fort, and hence the terms should have been strictly adhered to.

Cheered by the success in this instance of Phips, the New Englanders lost no time in sending him in charge of a squadron of thirty-two ships and tenders, having a force of two thousand fighting men on board, on purpose to attack Quebec. Phips left Boston on the nineteenth of August, 1690, and arrived at Quebec on the fifteenth of October, three days after the Governor had received warning of his approach, who immediately took active measures for defence. On the nineteenth Phips opened fire from his ships on the forts, and landed fifteen hundred men, who having to pass over marshy ground, which impeded their advance, and being exposed to a galling fire from the French irregulars, were compelled to retreat. On the twenty-first some pieces of ordnance were landed, and another attempt was made to advance to the walls, but the force met with such a hot reception that it hastily retreated, leaving its guns in the hands of the enemy. The fleet, having sustained considerable damage, without making any marked impression on the forts, retired and returned to Boston. In returning, the fleet encountered a severe storm, in which one vessel, with sixty persons, was wrecked on the island of Anticosti; two foundered, all hands perishing; and several were driven to the West Indies. All the poor fellows cast on Anticosti died during the winter, except five who returned to Boston in a small boat in the spring. One thousand men are said to have perished in this expedition.

A land force under General Winthrop had been prepared to attack Montreal at the same time, but by the gross mismanagement of the commissary it had to return before traversing a third of the distance to that city.

The heroic ardor of the New Englanders was not damped by these signal reverses. While conscious of power to accomplish their purpose, indignation was excited by the

barbarities perpetrated by Indian hordes, inspired and directed by French officers, on the defenceless towns in the interior of the country. One hundred men, chiefly Indians, marched, in the depth of winter, hundreds of miles, and at night attacked the village of Scenectady—now a flourishing manufacturing town—and murdered the inhabitants. Other detachments were sent in various directions by Count Frontenac, the Governor of Quebec, on an equally bloody mission. Of the cruelties inflicted on the unfortunate prisoners, Belknap, in his history of New Hampshire, gives harrowing details, of which a repetition here is not desirable.

On a perusal of the history of the Province, the reader is struck with the frequency with which the country, or in other words, the forts, passed from the French to the English, and *vice versa*. As a rule, permanent retention was not contemplated. Hence we find that when Port Royal was taken by Phips, he departed without leaving a solitary man to defend it. A few days after the expedition had left, the Chevalier de Villebon, the newly appointed French Governor, arrived, and if accompanied by the means, had a favorable opportunity of putting it once more in a state of defence, and retaining it as a French stronghold. But Phips was not far off, and he therefore deemed it prudent, considering the small force at his disposal, to retire to the river St. John, where he remained for some years, destroying New England vessels, and organizing schemes for the consolidation of French authority in the Province. We cannot enter into details as to contests which took place, with varying success, during the seven years of war that intervened between the declaration of 1690 and the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, when Nova Scotia was again transferred to France, the ever-remaining question of boundaries being left to the decision of commissioners who could never agree. In the meantime, Villebon

showed his temper towards the New Englanders, by building a chapel on the disputed territory, and driving their fishermen from the coast of Nova Scotia. Villebon was succeeded by Brouillan, in the year 1700, and not only was an enemy to the fishermen, but actually afforded protection to pirates who preyed on the trade of Massachusetts, which inspired a degree of hostility in New England that, on the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, the declaration of war which followed was hailed in that colony with demonstrations of joy. The New Englanders had a long catalogue of grievances unredressed, hostile attacks unrevenged, and were more determined than ever to put forth their strength for the expulsion of the French from the Province. In 1704 a preliminary expedition was despatched by them to the coast of Nova Scotia, consisting of a ship of forty-two and another of thirty-two guns, a number of transports and whale-boats, on board of which were upwards of five hundred men, under the command of Colonel Church, whose instructions were to destroy settlements, and, where dams existed, to deluge the cultivated ground, and make as many prisoners as possible. One detachment visited Minas, and spread desolation and ruin in that fertile region, through which Brouillan passed on his way to Annapolis, representing the people as living like true Republicans, not acknowledging royal or judicial authority, and able to spare eight hundred hogsheads of wheat yearly for exportation, and as being supplied with abundance of cattle. Another detachment went to Port Royal, which they deemed it prudent not to attack. Brouillan having died in 1706, M. Subercase was appointed Governor. In the spring of 1707 another expedition was sent from New England to attack Port Royal. It consisted of twenty-three transports and the Province galley, convoyed by a man-of-war of fifty guns, on which were embarked two regiments of militia, under Colonels Wainwright and Hilton. The expedition

arrived at the entrance to Port Royal on the sixth of June. A landing was soon effected; but Subercase's dispositions for resistance were so able that the English found it impossible to make any impression on the defences, and, after losing eighty men, the troops were re-embarked and proceeded to Casco Bay, from which place the commanders communicated with the Governor of New England, and waited orders. The failure of the expedition caused great indignation in New England, and the Governor immediately resolved to strengthen the army with a hundred recruits, and to order a second attack. Accordingly the expedition again sailed for Port Royal, when Subercase was in a far more formidable position than formerly. After a siege of fifteen days, in which the English officers displayed unaccountable cowardice, the ships retired, having lost sixteen men, whilst the French had only three men killed and wounded.

Subercase immediately proceeded to strengthen his position, in anticipation of a third attack. A bomb-proof powder magazine was accordingly constructed, capable of containing 60,000 pounds of powder, and the fort was otherwise improved. This Governor, who had formed a high estimate of the climate, soil and general resources of the Province, was one of the ablest appointed under French rule. He made urgent appeals to the French Government to colonize the country on a large scale, pointing out the advantages that would follow; but all his suggestions were disregarded, and he had the mortification, notwithstanding his zeal and personal sacrifices in the service of his country, to receive less encouragement and support from the Home Government than any of his predecessors.

CHAPTER IV.

Strong feeling in Nova Scotia against the French—Francis Nicholson commands an expedition directed against Port Royal—Condition of the garrison—Capitulation of the fort—The British take permanent possession of Port Royal—Discontent of the Acadians under British rule—Policy of Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada—Mission of General Nicholson to England—A formidable expedition sails for Quebec—Encounters disaster in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and returns to England—Britain gains permanent possession of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht—General Nicholson appointed governor—Queen Anne's letter to him—The French resolve to build a fort at Louisbourg—M. De Costabelle invites the Acadians to settle in Cape Breton—They decline—M. De la Ronde Denys—M. De Boularderie—Resolutions of the Acadians to continue faithful to the French throne—They refuse to swear allegiance to the British Crown—Letters of Colonel Vetch and Thomas Caulfield—General Phillips succeeds General Nicholson as Governor—Phillips' letter to the Board of Trade—His letter to Lord Cartaret—He proposes a conference with the Acadians—Paul Mascarene's letter to the Board of Trade—Cobequid—Chignecto—Indians attack settlement at Canso—The Governor's report on the state of the province.

In the year 1710 great preparations were made for the conquest of Canada and Nova Scotia. The New York House of Assembly sent a petition to Queen Anne, praying for such assistance as would expel the French entirely from the country. Colonel Vetch is said to have inspired this application, and to have submitted to the British Government a plan of attack. Promises of liberal support are said to have been made, which, however, the Government was tardy in affording. The command of the New England forces was entrusted to Francis Nicholson, who was appointed Governor of New England, under Sir Edmund

Andros, in the year 1688, being Governor of New York in 1689, and in the following year Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia. In 1692 he was transferred to the Government of Maryland, and in 1698 sent back to Virginia as Governor-in-Chief, at which time he held the rank of colonel in the army. Nicholson was an earnest advocate of a confederation of the British North American Provinces for purposes of defence, to which the people of Virginia were popularly opposed.

Nicholson sailed from Boston on the eighteenth of September, with a fleet of about thirty-six vessels, including five transports from England, conveying a considerable force, composed of troops supplied by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, which arrived at Port Royal on the twenty-fourth of September. Subercase was not in a condition to resist so formidable a force, hence we find him writing to the French minister that the garrison is dispirited, and praying for assistance in men and money. The straits to which he was reduced is indicated by the following passage: "I have had means," he says, "by my industry to borrow wherewith to subsist the garrison for these two years. I have paid what I could by selling all my moveables. I will give even to my last shirt, but I fear that all my pains will prove useless if we are not succoured during the month of March or early in April, supposing the enemy should let us rest this winter." But it was far from the intention of the enemy to let them rest; for three days after the despatch of the communication, in which the passage quoted occurred, Nicholson sent a summons to the Governor requiring the immediate delivery of the fort and in the event of non-compliance, expressing his resolution to reduce it by force of Her Majesty's arms. No reply having been sent to the summons, Nicholson prepared to land his troops, to which Subercase offered no resistance, as he could not trust the garrison beyond the walls of the

fort on account of the discontent induced by the universal conviction of their inability to oppose the English, who mustered to the number of upwards of three thousand, exclusive of seamen, to which force the Governor could not oppose more than three hundred fighting men. In the meantime the garrison became disorganized, and many desertions took place, when the Governor, yielding to necessity, opened a communication with Nicholson, with the view to a capitulation. The articles were, in the circumstances, highly favorable to the garrison. They provided that the soldiers should march out with their arms and baggage drums beating and colors flying; that they should be conveyed to Rochelle, and that the inhabitants, within three miles of Port Royal, should be permitted to remain on their lands, with their corn, cattle and furniture, for two years, if so disposed, on their taking the oath of allegiance to the Queen of Great Britain. The destitute condition of the garrison was manifested by their tattered garments, and absence of provisions necessary to sustain them even for a few days. In conformity with the terms of the capitulation, four hundred and eighty men in all were transported to Rochelle, in France. A garrison, consisting of two hundred marines, and two hundred and fifty New England volunteers, was left in Port Royal, under Colonel Vetch, as Governor—General Nicholson returning to Boston with the fleet.

The English, sensible of the disastrous consequences resulting from the policy hitherto adopted of abandoning Port Royal after having taken repeated possession of it, had now resolved to retain it permanently. The Acadians were alarmed at the indications of permanent occupancy which they witnessed, and evinced a degree of hostility which caused the Governor to adoptsuch measures as were calculated to convince them that they must act in virtue of their temporary allegiance to the British Crown,as became faithful subjects. The restraints imposed were galling to the French,

and they despatched a messenger with a letter to the Governor of Canada, referring to their general misery under British rule, and praying to be furnished with the means of leaving a country where they could not enjoy absolute freedom, but the letter contained no specific charges. In the hope of regaining the fort, and impressed with the importance in the meantime of intensifying Indian hostility to English rule, the Canadian Governor sent messengers to the French missionaries to exert their influence in that direction. The consequence was that parties sent out to cut wood were attacked, and that travelling beyond the fort was rendered dangerous. Eighty men sent from the garrison on that service were attacked by the Indians, who killed about thirty of the party, taking the rest prisoners. Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, had made preparations to assist in the recapture of the fort, but intelligence of a strong force being in preparation to attack Canada prevented the accomplishment of his purpose.

General Nicholson, on leaving Port Royal, went to England, for the purpose of inducing the Government to adopt measures for the thorough conquest of Canada, preparations for that end being in progress in New England. His appeal was cordially responded to, and a fleet of twelve line of battle ships, with store ships and transports, and having eight regiments and a train of artillery on board, the whole commanded by Admiral Walker, left England on the twenty-eighth of April, 1711, arriving in Boston on the twenty-fifth of June. This formidable force, which consisted of sixty-eight vessels in all, having about six thousand fighting men on board, left Boston on the thirtieth of July, arriving at Gaspé on the eighteenth of August, where wood and water were taken in. They sailed thence on the twentieth. The pilots seem to have been incompetent, for on the twenty-third of August the ships got into difficulties in a fog, losing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, near Egg Island, eight trans-

ports and eight hundred and eighty-four men. At a council of war it was determined to abandon the enterprise, and intelligence of the resolution was sent to General Nicholson, who had left Albany with an army for the purpose of attacking Montreal, and who consequently had the mortification of being obliged to return immediately. On the fourth of September the fleet arrived at Spanish Bay, and anchored in front of Lloyd's cove It is questionable if the noble harbor of Sydney has ever since presented so lively a spectacle as on this occasion.

Admiral Walker was instructed if he succeeded in taking Quebec, to attack Placentia in Newfoundland, but at a council of war it was declared impracticable to make any attempt against that place, while from the condition of the stronghold it could have been easily taken. On his return, Walker was the laughing stock of the nation. Literary squibs and pamphlets were showered upon him, and his attempts at a vindication of his conduct only rendered him the more ridiculous. He stood in the estimation of the nation in precisely the same position as Sir John Cope, the commander of the force sent to attack Prince Charles Edward Stuart on his march from the north of Scotland in 1745, to Edinburgh, who, after having held a council of war, resolved to march in the opposite direction from that in which the enemy was to be found, and whose consummate folly or cowardice in doing so is a standing national joke for all time.

The severe contests in which France and Britain were almost continually engaged required occasional breathing time. Hence, notwithstanding the series of brilliant victories gained by Marlborough, the war had become unpopular, and the governmental policy had to be assimilated to the national will. France was equally desirous of peace, and no great difficulty was experienced in coming to terms. In the preparation of previous treaties, France had succeeded in making the cession to her of any portion of North

American territory wrested from her a fundamental condition of agreement. Great Britain had hitherto shown a degree of pliability, in yielding to the desire of her great opponent in this matter, which seems unaccountable, and certainly incompatible with British interests; but the representations of the New Englanders as to the impolicy of such procedure were so urgent and unanswerable, that the Government had resolved that the period of vacillation was past and that the exercise of firmness in the permanent retention of Nova Scotia was necessary. Hence, in the celebrated treaty of Utrecht in 1713, it was provided that all Nova Scotia or Acadia should be yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain and to her crown for ever, together with Newfoundland, France retaining possession of Cape Breton.

General Nicholson, having been appointed Governor of Nova Scotia in 1714, as well as Commander-in-Chief, Queen Anne addressed a graceful letter to him, dated the twenty-third of June, 1713, in which, after alluding to her "good brother," the French King, having released from imprisonment on board his galleys such of his subjects as were detained there professing the Protestant religion, she desired to shew her appreciation of His Majesty's compliance with her wishes, by ordering that all Frenchmen in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, who should desire to remain, should be permitted to retain their property and enjoy all the privileges of British subjects, and if they chose to remove elsewhere, they were at liberty to dispose of their property by sale ere they departed.* The period during which such removal could be effected was limited, by the fourteenth article of the treaty, to one year; and it was also provided that those who continued British subjects were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, according to the usage of the

* Appendix C.

Church of Rome.* It is of importance here to observe that the treaty did not enjoin the administration of the oath of allegiance to such of the Acadians as remained, yet their willingness to take such oath, when required, was clearly implied as a condition of their recognition as British subjects, and it is morever to be borne in mind, as having an important bearing on a subsequent portion of the narrative, that, in the fifth article of the capitulation of Port Royal to General Nicholson, in the year 1700, the French inhabitants who were permitted to remain on their estates for two years, in case they should not be desirous of leaving before the expiration of that period, were required "to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to Her Sacred Majesty of Great Britain."

The French, being now in indisputable possession of Cape Breton, and justly attaching great importance to that beautiful island, as presenting a base of protection to the North American fisheries—which were not deemed of equal value by the British on account of the wide range of fishing ground accessible to them elsewhere—as well as to their property on the St. Lawrence, they began to look for a harbor that might be rendered impregnable—the importance of such a stronghold having been pointed out in 1708, in an able report by M. Raudot, Intendant of Justice in Canada. After a deliberate consideration of the advantages offered by various harbors, that of Havre à l'Anglois—Louisbourg—was regarded as the most eligible.

Meanwhile, the Acadians, as well as the inhabitants of Newfoundland, were pressed by the French Governor of Louisbourg, M. de Costabelle, to remove to Cape Breton, which the great body of the latter did. The Acadians, however, could not appreciate the advantages to be gained in removing from the fertile meadows of the Annapolis valley to a soil which,

* Appendix D.

however excellent, required much labor to render it fit for cultivation. It appears that they sent a deputation to examine the island and report as to its adaptability for agricultural purposes, for one of their missionaries, addressing M. de Costabelle, the Governor, says that,from the visit made, they were satisfied there were no lands in Cape Breton suitable for the immediate maintenance of their families, since there were not meadows sufficient to nourish their cattle, from which they derived their principal support. He, at the same time, represents the Indians—who had been also desired to remove—as being of opinion that, living as they did, by the chase, the island was quite insufficient for that purpose, as well as from its narrow limits, equally unfitted for the exercise of their natural freedom. But whilst declining to leave Nova Scotia, the Acadians expressed a firm determination to continue loyal to the King of France, affirming that they would never take the oath of allegiance to the Crown of England, to the prejudice of what they owed to their King, their country, and their religion, and intimating their resolution in the event of any attempt to make them swerve from their fidelity to France, or to interfere with the exercise of their religion, to leave the country and betake themselves to Cape Breton, then called the Isle Royale.*

M. de la Ronde Denys was a grandson of Nicholas Denys, to whom a grant of the island had been made, and who had a high opinion of its resources, and did what lay in his power to develope them. Being an officer connected with the French force in Newfoundland, young Denys removed to Louisbourg, and it is refreshing to note his appreciation of the capabilities of the island, as described in a letter addressed to the French Minister, asking for certain grants of land with a view to colonization. He tells the Minister that

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* Letter from Felix Pain to M. de Costabelle.

in Massachusetts there are fifteen hundred vessels built yearly, and there are no obstacles to the same thing being done in Cape Breton, as it is deficient neither in wood, coal nor masting, and that even hemp can be grown there to make cordage and sails.

It was about this time that another French officer connected with the navy, M. de la Boulardrie, who had greatly distinguished himself in the defence of Port Royal in 1708, obtained the beautiful island which now bears his name.

The sincerity of the resolution formed by the Acadians, to continue faithful to the French King, was soon tested on the arrival of Governor Nicholson, as he required them to swear allegiance, as implied in the stipulation of the treaty of Utrecht, when they unanimously refused to do so, preferring to leave the country. It appears from a copy of a letter in the State paper office, London, from M. de Pontchartrain, Minister of Marine at Paris, to M. D'Iberville, the French Ambassador in London, dated the seventh of November, 1714, that two officers were sent to Nova Scotia from Cape Breton for the purpose of asking permission for the inhabitants to remove to that island, such permission being now necessary, as the stipulated period within which it could otherwise take place had expired. The French Ambassador having handed M. Pontchartrain's letter to Lord Townsend, it was sent by his lordship to the Board of Trade, who immediately forwarded a copy to Colonel Vetch, then in London, who had commanded the garrison of Annapolis, asking him to report on the expediency of permitting the French inhabitants to remove from the Province. The reply of Colonel Vetch is dated twenty-fourth November, 1714, and throws considerable light on the condition of the Acadians at this period. The Colonel says that the number of French families "in the countries of L'Accady and Nova Scotia," according to data obtained by him after three years' residence in the country, was five hun-

dred, which, at the rate of five to each family, made altogether a population of two thousand five hundred souls. In answer to the question embodied in the communication of the Board of Trade, as to how many might be expected to leave in the event of permission being granted, he asserts that the whole of the population, with the exception of two families who had lived formerly in New England, had come under a written obligation to remain. He estimates the population of Cape Breton at this time about the same as that of Nova Scotia, not including the garrison, consisting of seven companies—the number having been recently augmented by emigration from Newfoundland. He strongly deprecates permission to remove, on the ground that the country would be left destitute of inhabitants—these being all French, except the garrison at Annapolis—that the French would be greatly strengthened in Cape Breton for aggressive purposes, and since many of them had intermarried with the Indians, the whole trade in peltry would be transferred to the island. He estimates the number of cattle that the French would take with them at five thousand, with a proportionate number of sheep and hogs. He also says that if the French had been left to the freedom of their own will they would have desired to remain, but "that they were importuned, and threatened by the French officers to be treated as rebels unless they removed." The consequences that would follow the departure of the inhabitants, as forcibly described by Colonel Vetch, seem to have induced the British Government to delay insisting on the administration of the oath, whilst the disinclination of the people to depart, if not pressed to swear allegiance, inclined the French authorities to be less peremptory in their demand, thinking probably that whilst the people were in a state of practical neutrality, they would continue attached to French interests, and might, in the event of war, be rendered more formidable, with their Indian allies, in assisting to wrest the country

from the English, than if they were resident in the Isle Royale.

Such appears to be the key to the vacillating policy of the English and French Governments at this period, in reference to the Acadians. The temper of the French inhabitants at this time towards English rule, is indicated incidentally in the instructions given by the Governor of Annapolis to the officers appointed to proclaim George the First, on his ascension to the throne in 1714, after the death of Queen Anne, where they are enjoined to inform themselves as they visit the ports of Sheknecto, River St. John, Pasmacody, and Penobscot, "how the inhabitants stand affected to the English Crown, the nature of their occupations, and the reasons why they do not, as usual, come into these parts and vend their commodities." The instructions also required the oaths of allegiance "to be tendered to such as were willing to take them in the form prescribed." Here there is not a word of threatened compulsion in case of non-compliance. From a letter from Thomas Caulfield—who was Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis, under General Nicholson, from 1714 to 1717—to the Board of Trade, in which he had enclosed the report of the officers sent to proclaim King George, and tender the oaths of allegiance, he says, the inhabitants, as anticipated by Colonel Vetch, "had refused the oaths," and asks for instructions as to how they were to be treated. It appears that, by a subsequent letter from the Lieutenant-Governor, that a number of the French who had removed to the island of St. John—Prince Edward Island—had not liked the change, and returned to the Peninsula. Caulfield also dilates on the advantages to be derived from allowing the French to remain in the country, or in other words, on the inexpediency of forcing the oath upon them; assigning, as one reason, that when the present generation passed away, that which succeeded it would probably be loyal to the British Crown. He accounts for the attachment

of the Indians to the French by stating that they have established stores for supplying the natives with goods in exchange for furs and feathers, and urges the adoption of similar means by the English Government.

General Richard Phillips was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, as the successor of General Nicholson, in August, 1717, and John Doucet succeeded Thomas Caulfield as Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis. Phillips, in a letter to the Board of Trade, dated Boston, the third of January, 1719, complains of the Roman Catholic priests as endeavoring, in their sermons, by fierce invectives, to render British rule odious—Père Vincent and Felix having particularly distinguished themselves as enemies to British interests, assuming the functions of governors of Minas and Chegnecto. The French he represents as having grown particularly insolent, refusing either to swear allegiance or to leave the country. He hopes on his arrival in the province to induce the people, by fair means, to change their tactics; but he recommends a reinforcement of troops as the best remedy for the evil—the present garrison at Annapolis being utterly inadequate for the repression of a refractory and rebellious spirit. He says that in the neighboring settlement there are four hundred families to which a large accession may be expected in a few years, and urges, therefore, this as the time to deal resolutely with the inhabitants. In the archives we also find an interesting document addressed to Lord Carteret, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, in which Phillips represents the Acadians as "settlers on a fertile soil, raising a great store of corn and cattle, and trafficking in furs at pleasure with the neighboring French colonies at Cape Breton and the Island of St. John, yet refusing supplies to the garrison in the greatest necessities." He accuses the French "of inciting the Indians to robbery and murder, to the destruction of trade and hindrance of settling the country," and finally expresses his conviction that they only wait a

rupture between the two Crowns to become open rebels for the establishment of their former government.

Governor Phillips arrived at Annapolis in the year 1720, and on the nineteenth of April held a council, at which it was resolved to send a proclamation to the inhabitants of the river ordering them to choose six persons to represent the whole body of the people, with the view to a conference with the Council on the subject of the oath of allegiance. On the fourth of May the representatives appeared before the Governor, but two of them not having the necessary property qualification were considered ineligible, and an order was issued for the appointment of others in their place.

Meanwhile the Acadians despatched a letter to M. St. Ovide de Brouillan, who succeeded M. de Costabelle as governor of Cape Breton about the year 1720, asking his advice in the present emergency. They say that to the present time they have preserved the purest sentiments of fidelity to their invincible monarch, intimating the arrival of Governor Phillips who insists on their taking the oath, or if they determine to leave the country they must do so within four months, and shall not be allowed to take any part of their personal property except two sheep for each family. In order to prepare for their departure they had begun to make a road to Minas by which to drive their cattle, but the Governor stopped the work by proclamation. Alarmed at this step of the Governor, deputies arrived from the inhabitants promising submission. In giving an account of these transactions to the Home Government, the Governor says that the Acadians pay rent for their lands regularly to lords of manors at Cape Breton; than which there could not certainly be a more flagrant violation of the treaty of Utrecht. About this time some communications passed between the Government of Cape Breton and that of Nova Scotia, in which the latter gives details as to the kindness and leniency with

which the British Government had hitherto treated his Majesty's French subjects, and intimates that the time has come when they must either leave or take the oath.

We are now dealing with the events of the year 1720, in which Paul Mascarene—who subsequently became Governor of the Province—prepared a description of Nova Scotia for the Board of Trade, which presents a faithful account of its condition at the period to which it relates, and which Governor Phillips in the communication sent with it describes "as the most exact and perfect account of the Province which has been given." After describing the boundaries of the Province, respecting which the British and French Governments could never agree, and which extended according to British notions from the limits of the government of Massachusetts Bay in New England, or Kennebeck river, about the forty-fourth degree of North latitude, to Cape Rosiers, on the south side of the entrance to the River St. Lawrence, in the same latitude—its breadth extending from the easter-most part of the island of Cape Breton to the south side of the St. Lawrence, out of which tract the French had yielded to them the islands situated in the gulf and at the mouth of the river—the writer describes the quality of the soil, and the kinds of wood in which the country abounds. The copper mines of Cape Doré had been worked several times, but the great expense had discouraged the undertakers. There were good coal mines at Chegnecto, and at the St. John river abundance of white marble, which burned into good lime.

At this time there were five considerable settlements on the south side of the Bay of Fundy, the inhabitants of which were French and Indians, and of which one thousand were capable of bearing arms. The fort is represented as situated about two leagues above Goat Island, on a piece of rising sandy ground, on the south side of the river, at a point formed by the British river, and another small one called Jenny

river. The lower town lies along the first and is commanded by the fort, and the upper town stretches in scattered houses a mile and a half south-east from the fort, on the rising ground between the two rivers. From the rising ground to the banks of each river, and on the other side of the smaller one, lie large meadows which formerly were protected from the water and produced good grain and sweet grass, but the "dykes" being broken down, they are overflowed at every spring tide to five leagues above the fort. On both sides of the British river are fine farms inhabited by about two hundred families—the river not being navigable more than two leagues above the fort by any other than small boats. The banks of the river are very pleasant and fruitful, and produce wheat, rye and other grain, also pulse, garden roots, and splendid cabbages. Here abound cattle and fowl, and Mascarene adds that if the several good tracts of land along this river were well improved they would serve for a much greater number of inhabitants.

The chief employment of the inhabitants was farming, and their spare time they occupied in the chase—many of the young men being engaged in summer in fishing.

"Manis," says the writer—called by the French Les Mines —"has its name from the copper mines which are said to be about it, especially at one of the Capes which divides the Bay of Fundy, and is called Cap des Mines, or Cape Doré. This town lies thirty leagues by sea and about twenty-two by land, east north-east from Annapolis Royal, on the same side of the Bay of Fundy; the harbour there is very wild and insecure. The vessels trading there, which seldom exceed forty or fifty tons, take the opportunity of the tide which commonly rises nine or ten fathoms, and run up a creek to the town, where when the tide leaves them they lie dry on a bank of mud which stretches five or six miles before it meets with low water mark. The houses, which compose a kind of scattered town, lie on a rising ground along two

creeks which run betwixt them and the meadow, which is thus formed into a kind of peninsula which has a great store of cattle and other conveniences. The inhabitants here are more numerous than those of the British river."

Cobequid, Truro and Onslow and the surrounding country had at this time about fifty French families in comfortable circumstances.

Chegnecto is described as situated on the westermost branch of the Bay of Fundy, almost at the upper end of it—the inhabitants consisting of seventy or eighty families. This region abounded in cattle more than any other, and there was a brisk trade carried on between it and Cape Breton.

In August, 1720, the Indians attacked, during the dead of night, the English fishermen at Canso, killing three or four of them, and robbing them of property to the value of about £20,000 currency. In this attack they were assisted by the French, who carried off a large quantity of fish, a portion of which was recovered through the energy of the master of a sloop which had entered the harbor, and who had bravely volunteered his services. Application was made to the Governor of Cape Breton for redress, but in vain. He contended that as the Indians were not French subjects no just claim could be preferred. Some of the Indians engaged in the robbery found, on their return to Minas, a trading vessel belonging to a Mr. John Alden, which, in presence of the French inhabitants, they plundered with impunity.

These daring outrages led the Governor and Council to assemble in September, 1720, for the purpose of consulting as to the state of the country, and reporting to the Home Government. In their statement they say the French still refuse the oath; that they continue to build houses, and make other improvements which show they have no present intention of leaving the country; that British authority is despised beyond the guns of the fort, and that the inhabitants disregard orders tending to promote His Majesty's service. As a

remedy for the evil the Home Government are recommended to send a sufficient force to keep them in subjection, and insure obedience. The Board of Trade replies to the effect that the only course seems to be the removal of the French from the Province, but the Council are instructed to take no action in that direction without positive orders from His Majesty.

CHAPTER V.

Lawrence Armstrong appointed Governor—His death—Return of General Phillips—He retires to England—Succeeded by Paul Mascarine—His life and administration—His despatch to the Secretary of State—War declared between France and Great Britain—The French besiege Port Royal and retire—Fortress of Louisbourg—Its extent and position—Proposal to attack it—Governor Shirley of Massachusetts raises an expedition, commanded by William Pepperell—The co-operation of the fleet—Landing of the troops—The siege—The capitulation—Rejoicings in New England—Capture of French prizes—Mortality among the troops—The French take measures to recapture Louisbourg—Duke D'Anville's expedition—Partial destruction of the fleet—Arrival at Halifax—Death of D'Anville—Death of Admiral D'Estournelle—Return of the fleet to France—Governor Mascarine's policy towards the Acadians—Failure of M. Marin's expedition—De Ramazay captures Grand Pré—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—Restoration of Cape Breton to France.

GENERAL Phillips having gone to England in 1722, Lawrence Armstrong, who had been Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment of the general, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Province in 1724, which he retained till 1739. He had been appointed a member of the first council at Annapolis by Governor Phillips, in 1720. He seems to have been of a remarkably sensitive temperament, and to have brooded over the difficulties of his position to such a degree that his mind became affected. He committed suicide on Thursday, the sixth of December, 1739, being found dead in his bed, with five wounds in his breast, and his sword by his side.

Governor Armstrong, like his predecessors, had endeavored to induce the French to take the oath, which they, as usual, refused to do, unless a clause were inserted by which they were absolved from bearing arms. By the advice of his

council, the governor so far complied as to have it written on the margin of the French translation of the declaration, which the inhabitants of Annapolis and the neighborhood accordingly signed.

General Phillips returned to Annapolis about the close of 1728, for he addressed the Duke of Newcastle on the third of January, 1729, stating that he had got all the people of the settlement on the River Annapolis to take the oath unconditionally, this being the first instance in which it was so administered. When the ice breaks up he is to visit the other settlements, and is sanguine of obtaining the submission of the entire population. In a communication to the Duke of Newcastle, of date second September, 1730, he intimates the successful completion of the good work. The General returned again to England in the year 1731. He continued nominally governor of Nova Scotia, receiving half the salary attached to the office, and paying General Armstrong, who acted for him in Annapolis, the other half. On the death of Armstrong, Phillips, in order to save his pay, requested that the office of Lieutenant Governor should not be continued, but that the governors of the fort should administer the government of the Province, which they did without additional pay—General Phillips being allowed to remain in England and receive the whole salary of governor till 1749, when he was succeeded by Cornwallis. Phillips lived till he had attained the age of ninety years.

Governor Armstrong was succeeded in 1740 by Paul Mascarene. He was born in Castras, in the south of France, in the year 1684. His father, who was a Huguenot, having been compelled to fly from France at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, young Mascarene fell to the charge of his grandmother. At the age of twelve he went to Geneva, where he was educated, and afterwards went to England, where he was naturalized in 1706. Two years afterwards, he received the appointment of second Lieutenant in Lord

Montagues regiment, then doing duty at Portsmouth. In 1710 he obtained his commission as Captain from Queen Anne, and was ordered by the Secretary of War to proceed to America, where he joined the regiment raised in New England for the taking of Port Royal. He there commanded the Grenadiers of Colonel Walter's regiment, and was the officer who took formal possession of the fort in mounting the first Guard. *

Mascarene was one of the ablest administrators the Province ever had. He did not regard it beneath his dignity to correspond with M. Jean Desendaves, a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, who came from France to Canada in 1728, and who had been parish priest at Annapolis for many years, on the line by which the secular and sacred functions ought to be separated—one of the characteristics of his administration being the friendly correspondence in which he freely engaged with the Roman Catholic clergy, whose influence over the Acadians was so dominant. His letters are marked by moderation, decision, and sound judgment.

In a despatch, written to the Secretary of State in December, 1743, the Governor reviews the condition of the Province, in expectation of a rupture with France. He intimates plainly that, in the event of war, no dependence can be put on the French population, and that the two strongholds in the Province—one at Annapolis and the other at Canso—are not in a condition to stand a vigorous siege.

War had been declared by Great Britain against France on the ninth of April, 1744, of which early intelligence had reached Louisbourg, which led to hostile action on the part of the French in North America before the English colonies had been informed of the fact. In May, a galley from Massachusetts arrived at Annapolis, conveying the news. New England workmen were at this time busy in putting the fort

* See note by Mr. Akins, Nova Scotia Archives, page 108.

in a state of repair, assisted by the people; but no sooner did the latter hear that the Indians were mustering at the instigation of the French, than they left the fort and returned to their homes. The Indians showed their hostility by approaching the fort, and killing two men, who, contrary to order, had gone out to some of the neighboring gardens. A French attacking force from Louisbourg had arrived, but, though strong, it was deficient in resolution, and after making, for several weeks, successive demonstrations at a safe distance from the fort guns—waiting in expectation of a French squadron to assist at the siege—it at length retired, to the relief of the garrison, who were doubtful as to the issue, in the event of a vigorous onset. The admirable policy of Mascarene towards the Acadians, as well as the friendly relations in which he stood with the priesthood, bore good fruit in preventing the people from joining the army sent to attack the fort. Success in the defence was also owing, to a considerable extent, to a body of Indians from the West, who assisted, in Indian war fashion, and who proved more than a match for the Micmacs in the French service.

If the year 1745 was memorable in British history, as that in which Prince Charles Edward Stuart attempted, by force of arms, to regain the throne of his ancestors, it was equally so in the history of British North America, as that in which the great fortress of Louisbourg was taken. This renowned French stronghold lay on the east coast of the island of Cape Breton. An admirable drawing of it, as it stood at this period, may be seen in the Provincial Museum. The ramparts of the fortress were about two miles and a quarter in circumference, and were mounted with formidable artillery —the number of guns in all the defensive works being about one hundred and sixty. The entrance to the harbor was guarded at Lighthouse Point, on the south-east, by a formidable battery. More than half way towards Point Rochfort, on the opposite side, is a small island on which another

battery was placed. The defences were, indeed, constructed on the most approved engineering principles of the time, and, if bravely defended, seemed impregnable.

The honor of having first proposed an attack on Louisbourg is ascribed to several persons. It appears by a note of Mr. Brown, in his history of Cape Breton, that Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, of the Province of New York, was the first person who suggested the expediency of attacking Louisbourg before any attack was made on the Canadian strongholds. Dr. Callaghan in his "New York Documents" gives a letter, which the Governor had addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, in 1743, on the subject. Mr. Robert Auchmuty, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty court of Massachusetts, also wrote an article, published in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1745, in which a plan of attack is described. The successful conduct of the enterprise was, however, mainly owing to the energy of William Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts. In November, 1744, he addressed a despatch to the British Minister, in which he pointed out the advantages which would result from immediate action in the capture of the place, in which the New Englanders were prepared to co-operate. Meanwhile, Shirley, without waiting a reply from the Home Government, proceeded to sound the Legislature on the subject, which was freely discussed, with closed doors, and under an oath of profound secrecy. But a demonstrative christian member of that body was so loud in his devotional supplications for success to the proposed enterprise, that the secret became generally known, to the mortification of the Governor. An adverse decision was arrived at by the House, but the indefatigable Shirley set machinery in motion, by which a petition, signed by a large number of influential merchants, praying for reconsideration, was presented. The result was, that a motion, favorable to the expedition, was carried by a majority of one. No sooner had action thus been resolved on than

th movement became popular in all the Provinces, and the required number of four thousand men was soon raised. Shirley displayed his usual discrimination, by appointing William Pepperell, a colonel of militia, commander. He was born in New England, in 1696,—his father being from Devonshire, in Britain—and was a successful merchant, brave, upright, popular, and, as the event proved, admirably fitted for the post.

Whitefield, the celebrated preacher, was at this time in New England, and gave a Latin motto—"Nil desperandum Christo duce"—for the occasion. It is a striking instance of the religious fervor of the country and period, that one of the chaplains carried a hatchet to hew down the images found in the churches!

When the legislature had sanctioned the expedition, Shirley despatched a message to Commodore Warren, in command of a British squadron in the West Indies, earnestly desiring him to co-operate in the siege with the New England army, but Warren declined to comply without instructions from London. His refusal was prudently withheld from the army, being only known to Generals Pepperell and Wolcott, who did not hesitate to prosecute the enterprise under these very discouraging circumstances.

Canso was the place of rendezvous, where the bulk of the forces arrived early in April. Warren, having received orders to sail for Boston, was on his way thither, when, being informed that the expedition had left, he immediately directed his course to Canso, where his arrival, on the twenty-third of April, was hailed with delight. The fleet, with the troops, left Canso on the twenty-ninth of the same month, arriving at Gabarus Bay, near Louisbourg, on the thirtieth of the month.

Great was the commotion in the city when the fleet was signalled. The French troops had been in a mutinous state —a fact well known to Shirley, and which rendered him all

the more active in hastening hostile preparations,—but Governor Duchambon assembled them and delivered a spirited address, in which he reminded them of their duty, and besought them to fight bravely, in this momentous crisis, for their King and Country. The oration produced a potent impression, and the garrison, with enthusiasm, resolved to defend the place; a landing was, however, effected by the British without much difficulty at Flat Point, within half a league south-w st of the city, where they established themselves. Towards the extremity of the north-west arm of the harbor were naval stores, including a great quantity of wine and brandy. To these the English set fire. Half a mile nearer the city, and nearly opposite the centre of the opening to the harbor, stood the grand battery, which the French suddenly evacuated, and of which the English as promptly took possession, being thus within gun shot of the city. Their guns had been spiked, but by drilling they were, in a few days, fit for service, and brought to bear with terrible effect on the devoted city. The siege had been pressed with vigor for a month, when it was determined to make a simultaneous attack by sea and land, which the British were the more able to do as the squadron was strengthened by the arrival of several war ships. Everything was in preparation for the purpose when the French governor sent a message, indicating his desire to capitulate. Terms being agreed to, the British forces took possession of the fortress on the seventeenth of June. The loss of the British during the siege did not exceed one hundred and thirty men, while that of the French could not be accurately ascertained.

On entering the fortress, and examining its elaborate scientific defences, the army was amazed. Had the defence been continued with resolution, the loss of life in its capture would have been enormous.

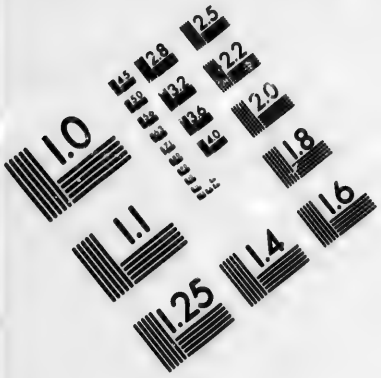
The rejoicings in New England, on receiving the intelligence, were great. The general joy found expression in

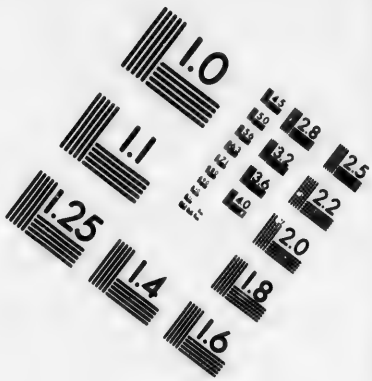
illuminations and bonfires. Equal satisfaction was felt in Great Britain. Pepperell was made a baronet, and a flag was conferred on Commodore Warren.

Warren and Pepperell acted as joint governors, and, in order to decoy the French vessels, kept the flag flying from all the ramparts. The consequence was two East Indiamen, whose cargoes were valued at £175,000, were captured in a few days, and afterwards a magnificent prize was taken in the ship "Deliverance" which, under an ostensible cargo of cocoa, had gold, silver and Peruvian dollars to the value of £800,000—the half of which was claimed by the officers and crews of the fleet as prize money. Consorts of the "Deliverance" were taken by English privateers off the Azores containing specie, which it required forty-three waggons to transport from Bristol to London, each sailor receiving when it was divided 850 guineas for his share.

After possession of Louisbourg was obtained, the mortality amongst the troops was frightful. Fever, induced by intemperance, carried off hundreds of the soldiers. Admiral Warren had given orders to lodge all the rum in the place in the citadel casements, and a thousand hogsheads were so secured, but the quantity left was such that Admiral Knowles, the successor of Warren in command, stated that a thousand men might be seen daily in a state of inebriety. Pepperell reported that twelve hundred men had died of fever. The glory of the achievement was tarnished by the culpable carelessness of the governors in not adopting effective measures for the entire destruction or removal of a stimulant, the intemperate use of which proved so fatal to valuable lives.

Intelligence of the fall of Louisbourg, and the capture of so many valuable prizes, produced deep and wide-spread consternation in France. It was at once resolved to retake the fortress, and measures were adopted to prepare a fleet adequate for the service. The Viceroy of Canada undertook to co-operate in the undertaking. The fleet consisted of





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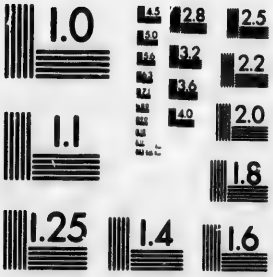

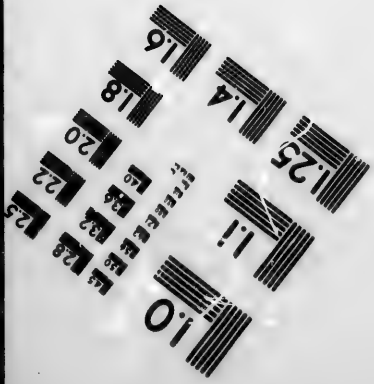

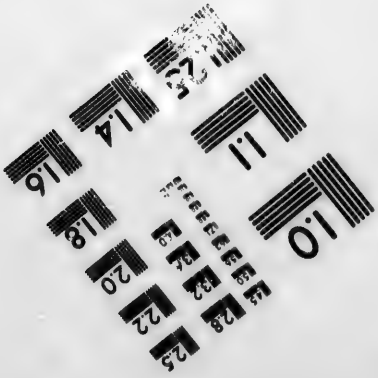

eleven ships of the line, twenty frigates, thirty transports, and two fire ships, under the command of the Duke of D'Anville, a court nobleman of high rank and no experience, as Garneau represents him, but according to Rebaud, a sea officer, on whose courage and skill great reliance was placed, and who was instructed to retake Louisbourg, capture Annapolis and leave a garrison in it, destroy Boston, ravage the sea board of New England, and attack the British islands in the West Indies. Though ready to sail in May, the fleet was detained by contrary winds till the twenty-second of June.

The British government were fully aware of the great preparations making in the ports of France, and sent Admiral Martin to watch the enemy, who succeeded, however, in sailing unobserved on the twenty-second of June, 1746. When intelligence of the departure of the French fleet reached England, Admiral Lestock was despatched in pursuit, with a squadron of eighteen ships, but after repeated attempts to put to sea, was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to England.

The Bostonians were in great consternation on receiving information of the meditated attack, but made formidable preparations to give the French a warm reception. The ministers in their prayers and sermons made pointed allusions to the coming contest, but D'Anville had a more formidable enemy to encounter. Contrary winds prevailed on the voyage, which was protracted to an unusual length. On nearing Sable Island a furious gale scattered the fleet, some of the ships making for the West Indies, others for France, and several transports being cast on Sable Island. It was not till the tenth of September, that D'Anville arrived at Chebucto—Halifax—the port of rendezvous, with two ships and a few transports. The calamity preyed on the mind of the French admiral to such an extent that he was seized with a fit of apoplexy and expired on the sixteenth of September. Vice Admiral D'Estournelle then took command and held a council of war at which he pro-

posed to return to France. All the officers were, however, in favor of taking Annapolis. Finding himself opposed in council the Admiral fevered, and in a state of delirium, fell on his sword and died. He is said to have been buried on George's Island.

By a strange coincidence, no sooner did this second tragedy occur than the seamen of the fleet were attacked in great numbers with a pestilence—Haliburton says small-pox—which spread with appalling rapidity, and which carried off thousands of the men. Governor Shirley, having received intelligence of the intended attack by so formidable a force, sent off an express to inform Admiral Lestock, at Louisbourg, of the state of affairs. On the eleventh of October the express was captured by the French and carried into Chebucto. The intelligence intended for the Admiral being thus made known to the French officers, it so alarmed them that it was thought advisable to sail immediately to France without striking a blow. Panic-stricken, the plague-worn crews were hurried on board, and the vessels, many of whose hands had been swept away by death, were scuttled and sunk. These wrecks were still visible in Bedford Basin in 1828, but not a vestige of them is now discernible.

The destruction of the fleet did not deter the French Government from making another attempt to regain their lost possessions in North America, for in the spring of the following year, 1747, they fitted out another expedition, consisting of fourteen war ships, and upwards of twenty transports, commanded by M. de la Jonquière. The English Government, being made aware of the destination of the expedition, sent a fleet to intercept it. The fleets met off Cape Finesterre on the third of May, when a severe engagement took place, resulting in the capture by the English, of nine ships of war, with several transports, six East Indiamen, and property valued at a million and a half pounds sterling.

We must now return to Annapolis. After the enemy had retired from the fort, Mascarene exerted himself to the utmost in strengthening his defences, and as he had promise of assistance, in men and war material from New England, he hoped to be able to resist any force the enemy might be able to bring to the attack. He also adopted conciliatory measures towards the Acadians, in order to prevent them from joining the enemy, who were now, by means of emissaries, more busily engaged than ever in sowing the seeds of open rebellion in their hearts. The documents contained in the Archives of the Province, explanatory of his procedure at this critical period, prove him to have been a man of singular tact and ability. In May, 1745, M Marin, a lieutenant from Canada, arrived in the vicinity of the fort with a force of three hundred French Canadians and three hundred Indians, hoping to be joined by the Acadians and thus be able to reduce the fort, but the people had been previously so impressed with the friendly disposition of the Governor and so fortified against open defection by his arguments, that neither the soothing blandishments, nor bitter threats of Marin had the effect of inducing them to appear in arms against him. Besides, the Acadians knew the extent of Mascarene's defensive preparations, and that such an attack as Marin proposed would probably prove unsuccessful. The French officer, under these depressing circumstances, was meditating a retreat when he received a pressing order to sail for Louisbourg, which was now invested by the English. About four hundred of the force—the rest returning to Minas—accordingly embarked in small vessels, but when near Cape Sable, were chased by New England cruisers, and did not reach Louisbourg till a month after the place had been surrendered.

In the following year De Ramazay appeared before Annapolis with a force consisting of seven hundred Canadians, but Mascarene having been reinforced by two hundred

and fifty soldiers, and the fort being now extremely formidable, the Canadian General thought it prudent to retire to Chegnecto and there wait expected assistance from France in spring. Meanwhile Mascarene had arranged to receive from New England a thousand fighting men, for the purpose of driving the French entirely from the Province. The requisite number of troops had been voted by the colonies, but only four hundred and seventy men, besides officers, had arrived at Minas on the thirteenth of December, 1746. It was calculated that a tenth of the corn and cattle in that region would be adequate for the sustenance of the force for three months without injury to the inhabitants. The soldiers, of whom Colonel Noble had command, were quartered at Grand Pré, and, not anticipating any attack, took no precautions for their own security.

Intelligence of the arrival of the English having reached Ramezay, it was resolved, at a council of officers, to attack them at once. Preparations for that purpose were accordingly made. The attacking force consisted of two hundred and forty Canadians, with twelve officers and sixty Indians who left Chegnecto—Cumberland—on the twenty-third of January, 1847, and arrived at Pizéquid—Windsor—on the ninth of February. As it was intended to take the English by surprise, the woods were guarded, so that intelligence might not reach them. The French arrived at Grand Pré on the fourth of February, at two o'clock a.m., having guides to the various houses in which the troops were quartered. They approached under cover of a snow storm, and were not seen by the English sentinels till it was too late to give the alarm. A desperate struggle, however, ensued, in which the French, owing to the English being in bed, had every advantage. Colonel Noble was killed, fighting in his shirt. Coulon, the commander of the French ,was severely wounded, and carried to Gaspereaux. After fighting from house to house till ten o'clock a.m.,terms of capitulation were agreed to, by which the

English were to leave Annapolis within twenty-four hours, with the honors of war and six days provisions—the English prisoners remaining in the hands of the French, who left on the twenty-third of February, arriving at Beaubassin on the eighth of March, from which the whole French force was shortly after withdrawn.

It was now the year 1748, and peace was about to be declared between France and England. The terms being agreed upon, a treaty was concluded in October. Though France had sustained a great defeat in the taking of Louisbourg and lost a vast amount of property during the war, yet she secured conditions as favourable as if the contest had been adverse to British interests. It was stipulated that all conquests which had been made since the commencement of the war, or since the conclusion of the preliminary articles, signed in April last, either in Europe, the East or West Indies, or in any other part of the world, should be restored without exception; and the British government submitted to the additional indignity of consenting to the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart remaining in France, as hostages, till authentic advice of the restoration of Cape Breton and all other conquests had been received. The conditions of peace were regarded with decided dissatisfaction in Britain, particularly in New England, which had made great sacrifices in the late war, and, through the imbecility of the British Government, was now left in a worse position in relation to French power on the American continent than when the contest began. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle was as disgraceful to British, as it was creditable to French diplomacy.

CHAPTER VI.

ducements offered to emigrants—Lord Halifax—Arrival of Cornwallis at Halifax—Early settlement of the town—Lieut. John Creighton—Spread of disease in the colony—Its causes—Installation of Governor Cornwallis—Appointment of a council—Negotiations with the Acadians—They present an address to the Governor—His reply—Progress of the colony—Hostility of the Indians—Retaliatory measures—Joseph de la Loutre—His hostility to the British—Letter of the Bishop of Quebec—Loutre's influence with the Indians—Cornwallis returns to England—His character and administration—Succeeded by Governor Hopson—His despatch to the Lords of Trade—Arrival of German emigrants at Halifax—Hopson sails for England and is succeeded by Charles Lawrence—Disturbances at Lunenburg—The "Nova Scotia Chronicle"—Expedition from Boston attacks and captures Fort Beausejour.

Though the island of Cape Breton was restored to France, it was determined to retain a firm hold of Nova Scotia. With the view to permanent retention, a change of policy in its management was necessary. Shirley and others recommended to the British ministry the settlement of a numerous colony of British subjects in the Province, as the best means of firmly attaching it to the Throne, as well as the most effectual protection against aggression. It was thought that many of the officers and soldiers, discharged after the conclusion of the war, would avail themselves of favorable terms for emigration to Nova Scotia. An advertisement was accordingly published in the *London Gazette*, setting forth, that a proposal having been made to His Majesty for peopling Nova Scotia and establishing a civil government in the Province, His Majesty had signified his approbation of it; and that, accordingly, instructions had been issued to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plan-

tations to present inducements to officers and private soldiers, lately dismissed from the land and sea service, as well as to such tradesmen and farmers as were willing to accept grants of land, and settle in the country. A free passage, and subsistence during the voyage, as well as for twelve months after their arrival, were offered—also arms and ammunition for defence, with proper implements for husbandry, fishing, and the erection of houses. A civil government was also to be established, with all the privileges granted to other colonies in British North America. The lands were to be granted in fee simple, free from the payment of any quit rents or taxes for ten years, at the expiration of which period, no person was to pay more than one shilling sterling for every fifty acres so granted. Every private soldier or seaman was to receive fifty acres, with an additional allowance of ten acres for each member of his family. Every officer, under the rank of an ensign in the land service, and that of a lieutenant in the sea service, was to receive eighty acres, with fifteen acres for every person belonging to the family. Ensigns were allowed two hundred acres, lieutenants three hundred, captains four hundred, every officer above the rank of a captain in the land service six hundred acres, with thirty acres to each member of such families—officers in the sea service receiving proportional allowances. These liberal terms attracted a large number of applicants, amongst whom were two majors, six captains, nineteen lieutenants of the army, three lieutenants of the navy, twenty-three midshipmen, and fifteen surgeons—many of whose descendants now reside in the Province.

The emigrants embarked in thirteen transports to the number of 2,576 souls.* The expedition was under the charge

* Mr. Akins, in his admirable account of the settlement of Halifax, gives the names of the transports and their captains, with the quantity of tonnage, and number of passengers in each, the latter being summed up as 2,376 souls. Mr. Murdoch, in a note—vol. 2, page 148—gives also

of the Honorable Edward Cornwallis, son of the third Baron of that name, who was now in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and appointed Governor of the Province at an annual salary of a thousand pounds. This judicious appointment was made through the influence of Lord Halifax, a public-spirited and patriotic statesman, who filled in succession several high offices in the Government of England with honor to himself and benefit to his country, and after whom the future capital of the Province was named.

Cornwallis sailed in the Sphinx sloop of war on the fourteenth of May, 1749, and arrived on the coast of Nova Scotia about the fourteenth of June. He anchored in Merliguiche bay—Lunenburg—where there was a small French settlement, communicated with the inhabitants who seemed in comfortable circumstances, and proceeded thence to Chebucto—Halifax—where he arrived on the twenty

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precisely the same particulars as respects the number of transports and their captains, and the quantity of tonnage, but the number of passengers in some of the vessels differs from Mr. Akins' statement, and the total is made by Mr. Murdoch 2,532. "There are said to have been some passengers in the Sphinx"—adds Mr. Murdoch—"besides the governor and his suite. This may comport with a total of 2,576 in all, stated anonymously in an old book of records." Mr. George Johnson, whose knowledge of the antiquities of Halifax is second only to that of Mr. Akins himself, gave us the perusal of a copy of Mr. Akins' little work, where the authorities on which the author's statements are founded, are marked in his own handwriting on the margin, "the Admiralty Records" being thus marked as the authority as to the number of emigrants. We have discovered the key to the discrepancy between Mr. Akins' number and that given in the old record to which Mr. Murdoch refers, in an error in the addition of the passengers in Mr. Akins' book which ought to have been printed 2,576 instead of 2,376. Thus, then, Mr. Akins' account and that of the old manuscript agree precisely as to the number of emigrants, and the supposition of there having been more passengers on the Sphinx, is proved to be inaccurate.

first of June O. S., being the second of July N. S.* The Gov-

*The eight of June, had been selected many years ago as the anniversary of the settlement of Halifax, in consequence of the discovery of a memorandum, written upon the back of the Mess Book of the settlers, found in the office of the admiralty, as follows: "Sphinx sloop of war arrived 8th June, 1749, with General Cornwallis and his suite. They landed on George's Island soon after." The following is the interesting letter which caused a change in the anniversary.

My Lords,—

Chebucto, 22nd June, 1749.

I arrived here yesterday. This morning a sloop arrived from Mr. Hopson, which I am obliged to send to Boston. I write to your Lordships by this sloop in case there should be any vessel there, bound for England. We met the "Fairyland," storeship, at sea, the 11th, after we had been four weeks from England, who told us that the transports had arrived at Spithead the day after we sailed, and had probably come into the Channel the same week. We were then off the Island of Sable, and, except the first eight days, had met with contrary winds all the passage. Besides, we had steered our course for Cape Race, but had been forced off the Banks by a gale of wind from the Northwest, so that I had reason to believe the transports might be soon at Chebucto. We had nobody on board that knew anything of the coast or the Bay of Fundy, so we had to cruise off the coast till we should meet with a Pilot.

We made the land of Acadie the 14th, but met with no Pilot till the 20th, when we met with one of the Louisbourg sloops from Boston, with two Pilots. The wind did not then serve for the Bay of Fundy, and the officers assured me that, in case of foggy weather, we might be a fortnight getting to Annapolis. The wind was fair for Chebucto, so I thought it advisable to go in there, rather than risk the being so long after the arrival of the settlers; besides, I could save the garrison of Louisbourg the trouble of the bad navigation to Annapolis, so I wrote to Mr. Hopson, Governor of Louisbourg, that I was going to Chebucto, and desired him to bring the Garrison thither, imagining he had transports ready. His sloop, that came in to-day, had orders to wait for me till the 30th, and he had sent another to Annapolis. By his letters, I find he is in great perplexity; the French have arrived and he has no transports. The Council of War, it seems, was of opinion that the orders from the Secretary of War did not empower him to hire transports, but he was to wait my arrival, and have, from me, the transports that should bring the settlers here. As I cannot know when the transports will arrive, or in what condition they may be, nor how many I can spare, I think it absolutely necessary for the service to send the sloops to Boston, with orders (to Apthorp and Hancock, whom Mr. Hopson recommends to me as persons that have always served the Government) to hire vessels, with all expedition, for the transportation of the troops and stores from Louisbourg to Chebucto.

I send a letter by the sloop in case she should meet with a vessel

ernor was followed by the transports which arrived early in July, off the harbor, which the officers pronounced to be the finest they had ever seen. The ground, which is now the site of a considerable city, was then covered with forest trees which grew to the water's edge. "The country," said Cornwallis, "is one continued wood, no clear spot to be seen or heard of." A few French families had settled some miles off, who visited the fleet on its arrival.

The Governor lost no time in communicating with Mascarene at Annapolis, and as Louisbourg was being evacuated by the English, he sent two ships thither for two regiments

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going to Annapolis, for Colonel Mascarene. I likewise send a Frenchman that knows the country overland by Minas. I have desired Colonel Mascarene to come here as soon as possible with a quorum of the Council, that I may open my commission, take the oaths, and appoint another Council, according to His Majesty's instructions. This Frenchman will be there in three or four days. It is 25 leagues hence to Minas, and there is a path that the French have made by driving their cattle over here.

I am giving your Lordships little information as yet as to the country. The coasts are as rich as ever they have been represented. We have caught plenty of fish every day since we came, within fifty or sixty leagues of the coast. The harbor itself is full of fish of all sorts All the officers say this harbor is the best they have seen. The country is one continued wood—no clear spot to be seen or heard of. I have been ashore in several places. The underwood is only young trees, so that with some difficulty one may make his way anywhere. The D'Anville's Fleet has only cut wood for present use, but cleared no ground; they encamped their men upon the beach. I saw a few brooks, but have not found the navigable river that has been talked of. There are a few French families on each side the Bay, about ten leagues off Several have come on board. We came to anchor in Merligreche Bay ten leagues to the westward, where there is a French settlement. I sent ashore for some fresh provisions, and to see their houses and manners of living. The families they found there have very comfortable wooden houses covered with bark, a good many cattle and sheep, and clear ground more than serves themselves. As to the number and disposition of the French and Indians I shall be able to give your Lordships a full account as soon as I have seen Colonel Mascarene.

I am, &c.,

(Sgd.) ED. CORNWALLIS.

To the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

under Hopson, by which the colony was accordingly reinforced.

Knowing the severity of the climate in winter, no delay was permitted in landing the emigrants, and setting them to work in effecting a clearance and erecting habitations. It was at first intended that the town should be built near Point Pleasant, but, on further consideration, it was wisely resolved to adopt a site further up the harbor. The ground to be cleared was traced and subdivided into blocks of three hundred and twenty by one hundred and twenty feet. Streets sixty feet wide were projected, each block containing sixteen lots with a frontage of forty feet, and sixty feet deep. The present Buckingham street was the north, and Salter street the south limit. To prevent disputes the settlers drew for their lots. The subdivision of the labor was a happy idea, for it produced a rivalry which caused the work to progress speedily, so that by the beginning of August, about twenty acres of the site were cleared. Timber for building purposes was sent from Boston, and though the settlers were unacquainted with the mode of building wooden houses, yet necessity proved the mother of invention. Mr. Murdoch refers to an existing tradition which points to the situation occupied by the Province buildings as that on which the Governor's house was built, and which is said to have been defended by cannon mounted on hogsheads filled with gravel. Subsequent experience has proven that the site for the town was the best that could have been selected, both in regard to beauty of position and business convenience.

Amongst the settlers who arrived with Cornwallis was Lieutenant John Creighton—the son of a gentleman in the south of England—who entered the army early in life, and was at the battle of Fontenoy. He was among the officers discharged at the peace of Aix la Chappelle in 1748, and was placed on the half pay of Colonel Warburton's Regiment of Foot. Creighton was sent to

Malagash with the Germans, in 1752, and took a leading part in the settlement of Lunenburg, where he continued to reside till his death in 1807. He was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of Militia, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and on the sixth of May, 1776, a member of His Majesty's Council, which office he afterwards resigned. Mr. Creighton was father of the late Colonel Joseph Creighton, and grandfather of the Hon. John Creighton, of Lunenburg, now a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia.

As indications of winter appeared, the movements of the colonists towards completing their houses, were quickened. Many of the structures were by no means substantial, or well adapted for so severe a climate. To insufficient protection from cold must, to a great extent, be attributed the great mortality of the succeeding winter. No doubt the intemperate habits of many of the colonists paved the way for the spread of disease—so weakening their constitutions as to render them incapable of resisting any malady by which they might be attacked.

Colonel Mascarene, having arrived in Halifax on the twenty-third of July, with a quorum of Council, a meeting was held on the following day, at which the Governor presented his commission and took the oaths of office. On the the twenty-fifth of the same month a new council was appointed, and sworn in on board one of the transports. Their names were Paul Mascarene, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salisbury, and Hugh Davidson. At their first meeting, the necessity of a stringent oath of allegiance being administered to the Acadians was discussed. Mascarene informed the Governor that the French always asserted that the various oaths which they had taken were on the understanding that they should not be called upon to bear arms against their countrymen. Three French deputies, who had arrived from different sections of the country, and

who had been sent to pay their constituents respects to the Governor, and for the purpose of ascertaining the policy of His Excellency in regard to the Acadians, were called in, when they were assured that all the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed under English rule would be continued on their taking the oath of allegiance usually administered to His Majesty's subjects.

The very decided manner in which the Governor intimated his determination not to be satisfied with any conditional oath from the Acadians alarmed them, and induced them to send deputies from all the principal settlements to Halifax, in order to obtain, if possible, a modification of the required declaration. On finding His Excellency resolved to have the usual oath, without any exceptional clause, they enquired whether, in the event of their resolving to leave the country in preference to compliance, they would be allowed to dispose of their property. The Governor promptly replied that such of them as were resolved to leave would not be permitted either to sell or take property of any kind with them, reminding them that, according to the Treaty of Utrecht, one year was allowed them to dispose of their effects and leave the country if they chose, but that these conditions were now inadmissible, and that they must take the oath before the twenty-sixth of October on pain of forfeiture of all their property. The deputies returned to their constituents, in order to inform them of the Governor's decision, and returned to Halifax on the seventeenth of September with an address, signed by one thousand inhabitants, in which they stated their willingness to take the oath, but with the usual provision of not bearing arms, and assured the Governor that compliance with his demand would expose them to the fury of the Indians, who were in close alliance with the French. The Governor addressed the deputies in French, reminding them that they were subjects of His Britannic Majesty, and

that it would be contrary to common sense to suppose that they could dwell in a province and possess houses and lands, without being subjects of the sovereign of that Province, and that they deceived themselves if they thought they were at liberty to chose whether they would be the King's subjects or not.

The governor, till October, had dated all his official despatches Chebucto but his house being ready for occupation in October, he removed to it in that month, and subsequently dated his despatches Halifax.

Such was the energy with which the colonists worked, that, on the twenty-eighth of October, they had three hundred houses roofed and made habitable. The military had surrounded the town with a barricade for protection against Indian attack, which they finished about the same time.

On the arrival of the Governor, the Indians seemed extremely friendly. They visited his Excellency and received presents. Afterwards, a formal treaty was prepared, which was signed with due formality, but was soon violated on their part. In October they attacked six men engaged in cutting wood near Dartmouth, killing four, making one a prisoner; the sixth man escaped. At Canso they took twenty Englishmen prisoners, besides committing other hostilities. These breaches of good faith further led to the adoption of the principle of extermination on the part of the Governor, a considerable sum of money being offered for any Indian scalps produced. The Lords of Trade disapproved of these retaliating measures, for in writing from Whitehall on the sixteenth of October, 1749, to the Governor, they say, "as to your opinion, however, of never hearafter making peace with them, and of totally extirpating them, we cannot but think that, as the prosecution of such design must be attended with acts of great severity, it may prove of dangerous consequence to the safety of His

Majesty's other colonies on the continent, by filling the minds of the bordering Indians with ideas of our cruelty, and instigating them to a dangerous spirit of resentment. The Governor was not by any means naturally cruel or unrelenting, but felt exasperated at Indian treachery, and grieved at the horrid treatment to which prisoners were subjected by the savages. He had already tried fair means in order to conciliate them, and these having signally failed, he was determined to make them feel the full weight of his resentment. The hostility of the Indians was said to have been excited by Joseph de la Loutre—a determined enemy of British rule who was sent to Canada by the Society of Foreign Missions at Paris, in the year 1737. He acted in the capacity of missionary to the Micmacs in Nova Scotia as early as 1740. Governor Mascarene gives him, in writing to the Secretary of State, a very bad character, representing him as treacherously surprising and killing all the English he found without the fort, destroying their cattle and burning their houses. Large supplies of money, fire-arms and ammunition were furnished him by the French government, with leading members of which he was in constant communication. His principal residence was near Fort Lawrence, in Cumberland, but he travelled frequently through every part of the Province, putting himself in communication with the Indian chiefs, to whom he gave liberal presents, and over whom his influence seemed almost supreme. Part of his system was to intercept government despatches, by means of the Indians. Thus in March, 1746, he intercepted the letters of the Governor of Louisbourg to Governor Mascarene at Annapolis and sent them to Quebec, and, in July following, he assisted the officers of a French frigate on the coast of Nova Scotia in the capture of several vessels, laden with supplies for the British forces. He had influential correspondents in France who sent money for the mission,

part of which he applied in constructing an aboiteau at Cumberland, by which a considerable tract of land was reclaimed from the sea. Owing to the means at his disposal, his influence over some of the other priests was considerable. De la Loutre had acted in opposition to the instructions of the Bishop of Quebec, under whom he held the office of Vicar-General of Acadia, as appears in a letter addressed to him by the Bishop. "You have at last," says the Bishop, "got into the very trouble which I foresaw, and which I predicted long ago. The refugees could not fail to get into misery, sooner or later, and to charge you with being the cause of their misfortunes. It will be the same with those of the Island of St. John whenever war breaks out. They will be exposed to the English, ravaged without ceasing, and will throw the blame upon you. The Court thought it necessary to facilitate their departure from their lands, but that is not the concern of our profession. It was my opinion that we should neither say anything against the course pursued, nor anything to induce it. I reminded you long ago that a priest ought not to meddle with temporal affairs, and that, if he did so, he would always create enemies, and cause his people to be discontented."

To the colonists at Halifax, De la Loutre was a dangerous enemy. He instigated Jean Baptiste Cope, the Indian chief of the Shubenaccadie river to do them all the mischief in his power. In giving Captain Silvanus Cobb instructions for the apprehension of De la Loutre, Cornwallis says, "that he has certain information of his being the author and adviser of all the disturbances the Indians have made in the Province." He is also accused of having caused the death of Edward How, a member of Cornwallis' Council, who, just after leaving Fort Lawrence, in approaching one in the garb of a French officer, with a white handkerchief in his hand, as a token of his desiring a conference, was shot dead by Indians who lay concealed in the bush. Poor How was

popular both with the French and Indians, and jealousy of his influence was supposed to have led to the perpetration of the atrocious deed. "Pride and vanity were his predominant failings"—says an article on De la Loutre, in the collections of the Historical Society of Quebec. "After ruining the Acadians by his unwise counsels, he abandoned them in the moment of their distress. For fear of falling into the hands of the British, he left Fort Beausejour in disguise, crossed to the river St. John, and went thence to Quebec, where, instead of a welcome, he received bitter reproaches from his bishop." He embarked for France shortly after, but the vessel in which he took passage was captured by the British, and he was made a prisoner, and sent to Elizabeth Castle in Jersey, where he remained eight years in confinement. He returned to France at the conclusion of the peace in 1763, and was never further heard of.

In the month of August, 1750, the ship *Alderney* arrived in Halifax, with about three hundred and fifty emigrants, who were sent to the opposite side of the harbor of Halifax, and founded the town of Dartmouth in the Autumn of that year. Mr. Aikins says, that in December following, the first ferry was established, and John Connor appointed ferryman, by order in Council. "In the following year," continues Mr. Aikins, "the Indians surprised the little village at night, scalped a number of settlers and carried off several prisoners. The inhabitants, fearing an attack, had cut down the spruce trees near their settlement, which, instead of a protection as was intended, served as a cover for the enemy. Captain Clapham and his company of Rangers were stationed on Blackburn Hill, and, it is said, remained within his block house firing from the loop-holes during the whole affair. The light of the torches and the discharge of musketry alarmed the inhabitants of Halifax, some of whom put off to their assistance, but did not arrive in any force till after the Indians had retired. The night was calm, and the cries

of the settlers and whoops of the Indians were distinctly heard on the western side of the harbor. On the following morning, several bodies were brought over—the Indians having carried off the scalps. Mr. Pyke, father of the late John George Pyke, lost his life on this occasion. Those who fled to the woods were all taken prisoners but one."

Mr. Aikins adds that there was a guard house and small military post at Dartmouth, from its first settlement, and a gun mounted on the points near the saw mill—in the cove—in 1750. The transports which had been housed during the winter for the accommodation of settlers, were anchored in the cove, under cover of this gun, and the ice kept broken around them to prevent the approach of the Indians.

Deputies from the Acadians having again come to the Governor to petition for liberty to retire from the Province with their property, expressing their determination not to sow seed, the produce of which others were destined to reap, the Governor reasoned with them as to the impropriety of their conduct, urging them to perform their usual spring labor. His Excellency was more conciliatory than usual, and the key to his altered manner is found in a letter, dated the eleventh September, 1749, addressed to the Board of Trade, in which he says:—"I am sure they will not leave their habitations this season. My view is to make them as useful as possible to His Majesty while they do stay. If afterwards they are still obstinate and refuse the oath, I shall receive, in spring, His Majesty's further instructions from your lordships." Having complied with the Governor's wishes in regard to the cultivation of their land, the deputies returned, in order to receive a specific answer to their petition. The Governor, in an address, complimented the people on their industry and temperance, and on the absence amongst them of any vice or debauchery. He reminds them that they have had every possible assurance of the free and public exercise of their religion, and that they possess the only cultivated

land in the Province, producing grain and nourishing cattle sufficient for the whole colony, but he peremptorily refuses to allow them to retire in a body, even without their property, as the French who are at present establishing themselves, in violation of the late treaty in various parts of the Province, will compel them to take up arms against British authority; but he promises after the country becomes more settled, to give passports to such as shall ask for them.*

Cornwallis returned to England in the summer of 1752. His administration was most effective, proving him to have been a man of rare gifts for government. Wisdom, decision, tact and energy distinguished his rule. He infused vigor into every department of his government. In conformity with his instructions, he made provision for the due administration of the law, erecting three Courts. The first was a court of General Sessions, similar to Courts of the same name in England. The second was a County Court, having jurisdiction over the whole Province, and held by persons in the Commission of the Peace at Halifax, who sat monthly, and decided all sums in dispute, without limitation as to their amount, or restriction as to the nature of the action; the litigants having power to appeal to the Supreme or General Court, of which the Governor and Council were the judges. It met twice a year, and, with the assistance of a jury, tried all criminal offences, and decided appeals from the County Court, when the sum exceeded five pounds. † For the protection of the settlement and the maintenance of order, Cornwallis formed a body of militia to the number of eight hundred and forty, fortified George's Island, erected forts at Grand Pré, Pizéquid, Chegnecto; and also at Chebucto left a flourishing town where he had found, three years ago, a dense

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* Appendix E.

For further particulars as to the administration of the law see Haliburton's History, vol. 1, page 164.

forest. Yet this was the man, who, in addressing the Lords of Trade, spoke of himself as knowing little of business. "I have applied myself," he adds, "as closely as possible to each branch, but, indeed, my Lords, it is too much for any one person. The distress I meet with, the variety I have to go through, Sir Danvers Osborne can testify." That the Governor had genuine sympathy for those committed to his charge, is proved by the incidental fact that he erected a school room and made other provision for orphan children. It is perhaps not too much to say that Cornwallis accomplished an amount of work in three years, which an ordinary man could scarcely have performed in six.

Governor Cornwallis was succeeded by Peregine Thomas Hopson, in August, 1752. In a despatch sent by him to the Lords of Trade, dated twenty-third of July, 1753, the new Governor gives an account of the Acadians and Indians, which is interesting as relating to a period so near that of the expulsion of the former from the Province. The number of Acadian families he puts down at 973, who are mainly settled in Pizéquid, River Canard, Minas and Annapolis. The other settlements, Cobequid, Rimchigne, Tatamagouche and Cape Sable, containing only sixty-three families. He estimates the Micmacs at about three hundred families, and says that at no time had more than two hundred of them appeared in arms. He remarks, it may appear unaccountable to their lordships that with such a force as he has at his disposal he should solicit further military aid, accounting for the apparent anomaly from the number of soldiers required to defend the various forts, and the peculiarities of Indian warfare. He adds that the French are strengthening themselves at Fort Beausejour, in Cumberland, and expresses his conviction, that till the French flag is removed, the English colonists can have no settled peace.*

* Appendix F.

The colony received a very important accession in the spring of the year 1751, by the arrival of nine hundred and fifty-eight German settlers, to which a thousand more were added in the following year. For the accommodation of so large a number of persons, wooden barracks were erected. In the spring of 1753, it was resolved to remove fifteen hundred of them to Merliguesh—Lunenburg—which was accordingly done, transports having been provided for that purpose. They were furnished with building and other materials, necessary for the erection of a town. They were accompanied by Major Gorham, Lieutenant Creighton and a company of Rangers, and enjoyed all the privileges granted to the settlement at Halifax, the remainder being located in the North Suburbs, called Dutch Town.

During the administration of Governor Hopson, which, in consequence of ill-health compelling him to leave for England, lasted only for a few months, two petitions were presented to him—one from the inhabitants of Grand Pré, River Canard, Pizéquid, &c., and the other from the inhabitants settled near Megoguich. The first prayed that their missionaries may not be required to take the oath of allegiance, and the second that they may be allowed to return to their former lands, without being required to bear arms against any people, whether French or Savages, or people of any other nation; that they may be permitted to retire, if they feel so disposed, with high head—la tête levée—and do with their property what they please, and that they may have the enjoyment of their religion without any restraint whatever. These petitions went before the council, and though the replies were extremely conciliatory, they were not satisfactory to the petitioners.

On the departure of Governor Hopson, on the first of November, 1753, the administration of the Province was committed to Charles Lawrence, Major in Warburton's regiment of foot, which formed part of the garrison of Louis-

bourg, under Hopson. He had joined the army at Halifax in July, 1749, and soon after was appointed by Governor Cornwallis one of his council. During the years 1750 and 1751, he was engaged in driving the French from their encroachments at Beaubassin and Chegnecto. He had also accompanied the German emigrants to Merliguesh, and assisted in founding the town of Lunenburg.

In December, serious disturbances occurred at Lunenburg, which were occasioned by French emissaries instigating the people to rebellion. The ostensible cause of them was the supposed concealment of a letter received by Mr. Zouberbuhler, J.P., containing a list of articles sent for the use of the colonists from England. Under torture, by the mob, one John Petriquin said he had received ten guineas from Mr. Zouberbuhler, for concealing the list of articles. This declaration, which was probably utterly false, having been elicited under pain, exasperated the people. Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland, who had command of the few troops at Lunenburg, being unable to allay the tumult, applied to Governor Lawrence for assistance, which was promptly granted, and order restored.

"In this year," says Mr. Murdoch, "we find, perhaps, the earliest notice extant, of a newspaper published in Nova Scotia,"* referring to an incidental allusion to the "Halifax Gazette," in a letter of Secretary Cotterell to Captain Floyer, at Pizéquid. The paper, to which Mr. Murdoch refers, was first published in January, 1769, by Anthony Henry, and was designated the "*Nova Scotia Chronicle or Weekly Gazette*," and was edited by Captain Bulkley, who was for many years Secretary of the Province and Member of Council. The printing office stood at the lower side of Grafton Street, in rear of the residence of the once Attorney-

* Murdoch's History, vol. 2, p. 234.

General Uniacke. Henry was a provincial, and settled in Halifax after the seige of Louisbourg.*

In Cumberland were two forts, about a mile and a half apart—the one being Fort Lawrence, held by the English, and the other Fort Beausejour, held by the French. In the year 1754, General Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, entered into a correspondence with Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State, with a view to the reduction of the French stronghold. Instructions having been sent to Governor Lawrence, he ordered Colonel Monckton and Captain Scott to proceed to Boston, in order to consult with Shirley as to the best mode of raising the necessary force. It was resolved that two thousand men should be got ready for the expedition, and that the business should be managed with the utmost celerity and secrecy. By the twentieth of April, 1755, eighteen hundred men were raised in New England, and embarked on board transports at Boston, to wait for arms expected from England, which arrived on the eighteenth of May. The expedition, consisting of thirty-six vessels, sailed on the twenty-third, under the command of Monckton, and the troops were landed on the second day of June, near Fort Lawrence. Vergor, the commander of the French fort, immediately sent messengers to the inhabitants, ordering them to hasten immediately to Beausejour, on pain of death in case of disobedience. A number responded to the call, sending their wives and children inland. The garrison of Beausejour consisted of one hundred and fifty men. After operations, which it is unnecessary to detail, the English, on the morning of the sixteenth of June, fired a shell of 250 pounds, which fell on a casement which was used as a prison, and in which, unfortunately, an English officer was confined, who, together with a French officer, an

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*History of the settlement of Halifax, by Thomas B. Akins, pp. 40 and 49.

interpreter, and a clerk, were instantly killed. This accident unnerved the defenders, who sent a message to the English commander, desiring to capitulate. In the fort was De la Loutre, to whose hopes the surrender of it proved destructive, and who prudently escaped before the English entered. The garrison was sent to Louisbourg, and the Acadians pardoned, on the ground that they were forced into the French service. The fort of Beausejour was now named Fort Cumberland. On its fall, another small one, on the Gaspereaux, surrendered. Captain Rous, who commanded the naval part of the expedition, then left for the river St. John. On his arrival there, the French blew up their magazine and departed. Thus the expedition was completely successful in accomplishing its object.

CHAPTER VII.

The Acadians—The necessity for their removal from the Province—The Abbé Raynal's "Philosophical and Political History"—His description of the Acadians—Character of the Clergy—Character of the Acadians—They finally decline to take the oath of allegiance—Measures for their removal—Colonel Winslow—His address to the Acadians at Grand Pré—Their embarkation—Destination—Reception at Virginia, Carolina, &c.—The policy of the British Government in connection with the Acadians.—Conduct of Governor Lawrence.

We have now come to that interesting period of the history of Nova Scotia when it became necessary to remove the Acadians from the Province—necessary because no one, on an unprejudiced review of the manner in which they had been treated by the British Government, from the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, to the year of their removal, can come to any other conclusion than that they enjoyed privileges for forty-two years which would not probably have been conceded, under similar circumstances, by any other Government in Europe. Notwithstanding their pertinacious refusal to swear allegiance to the British Crown, they had all the advantages of British subjects, having full religious liberty, holding their lands without being subjected to any direct tax, and having the protection of British power without being required to fight, like loyal subjects, for its maintenance. And what return did the Acadians make for the kindness and consideration shown them? In violation of law, they traded systematically with the enemies of Britain, withheld supplies from the garrison of Annapolis when distressed for want of provisions, allowed a British vessel to be plundered at their very door by a party of eleven savages without rendering

any aid to the owner, not to speak of the charges of furnishing information to the enemy, and of paying rent for their lands to Lords of Manors in Cape Breton; and when the fort of Beausejour was taken, three hundred of their number were found with arms in their hands, in open rebellion against the British Crown.*

As the beautiful poem of Longfellow was evidently based on the description which the Abbé Raynal has given of the Acadians, in the fifth volume of his "Philosophical and Political History," and has had the effect of making the tragic tale of their removal known throughout Europe exciting deep and wide-spread sympathy in their behalf, with corresponding indignation at the treatment they received, it becomes necessary to review the statements of this historian, and ascertain to what extent his description corresponds with that of others, whose means of obtaining accurate information were superior to his own, and, also, to adduce some facts which may enable the reader to determine the amount of blame attaching to the British Government for the manner in which the transportation of the people was effected.

The following is the description of Raynal, as translated by J. O. Justamond, F.R.S., and is substantially the same as that given by Mr. Haliburton:

"There were twelve or thirteen hundred Acadians settled in the capital; the rest were dispersed in the neighboring country. No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them, and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them, and they were equally strangers to him. Hunting, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further

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*Nova Scotia Archives, p. 277.

attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marshes in the low lands, by repelling the sea and the rivers which covered these plains, with dykes. These grounds yielded fifty times as much as before. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common. At the same time, the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thousand head of cattle were computed there, and most of the families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built entirely of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. The people had a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was, in general, wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cider, to which they sometimes added rum. Their usual clothing was, in general, the produce of their own flax and hemp, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs."

"The neutral French had few articles to dispose of among their neighbors, and still fewer amongst themselves, because each separate family was able to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie which had stolen into the colony did not promote that circulation, which is the greatest advantage that can be derived from it."

"Their manners were, of course, extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to

time among them, were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which, and their religious services, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-seventh part of their harvests. These were plentiful enough to supply more than a sufficiency to fulfil every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt; and food was universally dispensed without ostentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the person who received it. These people, amounting to eighteen thousand souls, were, in a word, a society of brethren, every individual equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind. Such perfect harmony naturally prevented all those gallantries which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages, for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others."

The historian, for rhetorical effect, feigning ignorance of what followed, continues in the following strain: "Who will not be affected with the innocent manners, and the tranquility of this fortunate colony? Who will not wish for the duration of its happiness? Who will not construct, in imagination, an impenetrable wall, that may separate these colonists from their unjust and turbulent neighbors? The calamities of the people have no period; but, on the contrary, the end of their felicity is always at hand. A

long series of favorable events is necessary to raise them from misery, while one instant is sufficient to plunge them into it. May the Acadians be exempted from this general curse. But, alas! it is to be feared that they will not!"

With respect to the number of the population, Raynal says there were twelve or thirteen hundred in the capital, by which he must mean the district of Annapolis, and that the entire French population amounted to eighteen thousand souls. In the letter of Colonel Vetch to the Lords of Trade, the aggregate population was estimated in 1714 at two thousand five hundred souls, which, however, scarcely accords with a statement in a letter from Lieut.-Governor Caulfield to the Secretary of War in 1716, in which he says the number of able-bodied men was from nine hundred to a thousand souls, which would indicate, unless Indians are included, an under estimate by Colonel Vetch. But as to the actual population of the Province in 1755—the year of Acadian removal—the statement of Governor Lawrence in a circular sent to the various governors of the continent seems conclusive: "As their number amounts," he says, "to near seven thousand persons, the driving them off with leave to go whither they pleased would have doubtless strengthened Canada with so considerable a number of inhabitants; and as they have no cleared land to give them at present, such as are able to bear arms must have been immediately employed in annoying this and the neighboring colonies."

Raynal is equally in error as to the sixty thousand cattle with which the "immense meadows" are said to have been covered. Colonel Vetch, in the letter to which allusion has already been made, says, in reply to a question as to the number of cattle the Acadians might take with them if they left the country: "I am informed that there may be about five thousand black cattle, besides a great number of sheep and hogs, in that country, the greater part of which they

will take with them, if permitted." The actual number of cattle at the time of their removal, is stated by Mr. Murdoch as seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, including oxen, cows, and young cattle, which shows how little dependence can be put on the statements of the Abbé Raynal!*

"The habitations," says this historian, "were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe."

"Strongly built were the houses with frames of oak and of chesnut,
Such as the peasants of Normandy built in the days of the Henries,
Thatched were the roofs, with dormer windows; and gables projecting
Over the basement below protected and shaded the doorway." †

We shall call two Frenchmen, who were partial to their own countrymen, as witnesses on this point. Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart addressed an elaborate communication to the Count de Maurepas, dated Quebec, twelfth September, 1745, in which, after assuring the Count that, from intelligence they have received from officers in charge of a detachment of French troops in Acadia, as well as from missionaries, they are satisfied the people will not hesitate to take up arms as soon as they receive the munitions of war, and the French have become masters of Port Royal; they add, "the Acadians have not extended their plantations since they have come under English dominion, *their houses are wretched wooden boxes, without convenience and without ornament, and scarcely containing the necessary furniture.*" Raynal also alludes to the small quantity of specie that had stolen into the country. Here his own countrymen again prove him in error; they write, "the Acadians are extremely covetous of specie. Since the settlement of Isle Royale they have drawn from Louisbourg almost all the

* Murdoch's History, vol. 2, p. 293.

† Evangeline.

specie the King annually sent out; it never makes its appearance again—they are particularly careful to conceal it. What object can they have except to secure for themselves a resource for an evil day!"*

The Acadians are also represented by Raynal as living in a state of delightful harmony, of which there is no other instance in the history of the human race, except that which embraces the epoch previous to the fall of man. In this happy country, even a lawyer could find no business, which could hardly be said of any other country under the sun, "for whatever little difficulties arose were amicably adjusted by their elders."

"Thus dwelt in love these simple Acadian farmers." †

It is a pity to spoil this pretty picture, but a regard to truth compels us to direct attention to what Governor Armstrong says, in a letter dated Annapolis Royal, the sixteenth of November, 1731, addressed to the Lords of Trade. Referring to a previous communication, he says: "I hope your lordships will favor me with such directions as the facts therein related require; for, otherwise, it will be a difficult matter to bring those people to any reasonable terms of obedience to His Majesty's Government, or even to any manner of good order and decency among themselves, *for though they are a litigious sort of people*, and so ill-natured to one another, as daily to encroach on their neighbours' properties, which occasions continual complaints, and which were partly the cause of some of the paragraphs of my former letter; yet, they all agree in opposing every order of Government, though never so conducive to their own interest."‡ Nor do the Acadians seem to have improved during the long interval between 1731 and 1753, for, in the latter year—that is,

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* Dr. Callaghan's New York Documents.

† Evangeline.

‡ Nova Scotia Archives, p. 94.

two years before their removal—Governor Lawrence, addressing the Lords of Trade, in a despatch dated fifth of December, says: "I come now to the French inhabitants, who are tolerably quiet, as to Government matters, but *exceedingly litigious* among themselves. As this spirit of litigation shews the value they set upon their possessions, it is so far a favorable circumstance."*

If called upon to produce facts to justify the expulsion of the Acadians from the Province, they could be furnished from the work of Raynal himself. What sort of character does he give the missionaries of the Acadians? "The missionaries easily insinuated themselves among them—the Indians—and had so far inculcated their tenets as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hatred which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that which made the strongest impression on their senses, and the only one that favored their passion for war, they adopted with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any exchange with the English, but also frequently disturbed and ravaged the frontiers of that nation. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate, and more regular after they had chosen St. Casteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander, who was settled among them, had married one of their women, and conformed in every respect to their mode of life. When the English saw that all efforts, either to reconcile the savages or to destroy them in their forests, were ineffectual, they fell upon the Acadians, *whom they looked upon, with reason*, as the only cause of all their calamities." If such was the character of the priests who were permitted to exercise their sacred functions in the Province through British

* Nova Scotia Archives, p. 206.

tolerance, and such the effect of their teaching on the savages, what must have been the fruit of their labors amongst the Acadians themselves? Raynal himself favors us with an answer to the question when he says, "their priests, either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the Governors of Canada, made them believe all they chose to say against the English, whom they called heretics."* But while the description given by this famous historian of the priesthood was applicable to De la Loutre, it was not so to the Roman Catholic missionaries as a body, whom he has thus shamefully traduced.

The evidence adduced seems to prove the Abbé Raynal totally unreliable as an authority in regard to the Acadians, and that the poem Evangeline, though a splendid creation of genius, rests, so far as based on Raynal's description of their character, on fiction, not on fact.

Let us not be understood as endeavoring to depreciate the character of the Acadians. What has been adduced simply proves that they were human. They were a sober, industrious people—inheriting a fair share of the frailties of human nature—but placed in circumstances which rendered their position one of great difficulty. Naturally attached to France and its institutions, and inspired by loyalty to the French throne, they always refused to swear unconditional allegiance to the British Crown. It is true that Governor Phillips induced the people to take an unconditional oath, so far as the written terms were concerned; but there seems to have been, even on that occasion, a verbal qualification as to bearing arms against the French King. Governor Cornwallis, who must have been well informed on the subject, in addressing the Acadians, says: "You have always refused, gentlemen, to take the oath without a reservation." And Governor Lawrence, in addressing the Lords of Trade, on

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* Raynal's History, vol. 5, pp. 346 and 352.

the eighteenth July, 1755, says: "As the French inhabitants of the Province have never yet, at any time, taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty unqualified, I thought it my duty to avail myself of the present occasion to propose it."*

We shall now proceed with our narrative as to the removal of the French neutrals, reserving remarks on the mode of its execution till the close of the chapter.

At the Governor's house a council was held on the third of July, 1755, at which the Governor presided, and at which the following councillors were present: Benjamin Green, John Collins, William Cotterell, and J. Belcher. The Governor laid before the council an insolent memorial, signed by a number of the French inhabitants of Minas and Pizéquid, delivered to Captain Murray, the commanding officer, and by him forwarded to His Excellency. One passage from the memorial is sufficient to indicate its tone. Referring to the circumstance of their being ordered to deliver their arms, they said, "it is not the gun which an inhabitant possesses that will induce him to revolt, nor the privation of the same gun that will make him more faithful, but his conscience alone must induce him to maintain his oath." The memorialists had been summoned before the council, and some of them were now in waiting, and being introduced, the memorial was discussed before them, paragraph by paragraph, and the absurdity of every portion of it pointed out. They were challenged to produce any instance where a privilege was denied them, or where any hardships were imposed on them by the Government, but they could not, and acknowledged, in reply, the justice and lenity of their rules. They were then asked to take the oath in the ordinary form, which they refused to do, when they were informed they would be allowed

* Nova Scotia Archives, p. 259. See also a valuable note by T. B. Akins, Esq., Archives, p. 263.

till next day at ten o'clock to come to a final decision. On reappearing they still refused the oath, and were consequently ordered into confinement.

The Lieutenant-Governor having been instructed by Government to consult the commander-in-chief of the fleet on any emergency that might concern the security of the Province, he accordingly invited Vice-Admiral Boscawen and Rear-Admiral Mostyn to be present at a meeting of council to be held on the fifteenth July. The Admirals accordingly attended. On the late proceedings of the council being laid before them, they approved of what had been done, and expressed the opinion that the time had come when the inhabitants must take the oath or leave the country. On the eighteenth July, the Governor wrote to the Lords of Trade, reporting proceedings, and expressing his determination "to bring the inhabitants to a compliance or rid the Province of such perfidious subjects."

The Acadians having been requested to send other deputies in order to convey their final decision as to the taking of the oath, they arrived in Halifax, and appeared at a meeting of Council held on the twenty-fifth July, when they declared the people were unanimous in coming to the resolution of declining to take any oath which did not provide for exemption from bearing arms. The deputies were requested seriously to consider the consequences of a refusal, and to determine finally by the twenty-eighth of the month, when another meeting of the Council was to be held. In the meantime, deputies from other parts of the Province had arrived, conveying to the Council a similar resolution on the part of their constituents. They all appeared at the meeting held on the twenty-eighth, and, refusing to take the oath, were ordered into confinement. At this meeting of Council it was resolved to send the refractory inhabitants to the several colonies on the continent, and to provide, with all possible expedition, a sufficient number of vessels for that purpose.

The Lieutenant-Governor wrote to Colonel Monckton, commanding at Beausejour, intimating the resolution of the Council, and desiring him to hold himself in readiness for its execution in that part of the Province. Instructions were also issued to Colonel Winslow, commanding the troops at Minas. Winslow, whose letter book and journal, while engaged in the removal of the Acadians, are in the possession of the Massachusetts Hist[illegible] Society at Boston, was a son of Isaac Winslow of Marshfield, in Massachusetts, and great grandson of Edward Winslow, one of the first Plymouth settlers. He was a captain of Provincials in the unfortunate expedition to Cuba, in 1740, and afterwards an officer in the British army, and a Major-General of Militia. So great was his popularity that he raised, for the expedition under Monckton, two thousand men in the space of two months. He died at Marshfield in 1774, aged seventy-three years.

Instructions similar to those forwarded to Winslow were sent to Major John Handfield—some of whose descendants are still in the Province—commanding at Annapolis. Transports had been ordered from Boston, which arrived at the various ports assigned them. The commanders were instructed, if they found fair means to fail in inducing the inhabitants to leave, to adopt the most vigorous measures possible, not only in compelling them to embark, but in depriving those who should escape, of all means of shelter or support, by burning their houses, and destroying everything that might afford them the means of subsistence in the country. His Excellency prepared a circular, addressed to the various Governors on the Continent, including those of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Philadelphia, New York and Connecticut, wherein he stated the reasons for the removal of the people, expressing the hope that they would dispose of them in such a manner as would best answer the design of preventing their re-union.*

* Appendix G, Nova Scotia Archives, p. 277.

The Acadians were busy completing their harvest when the time of their departure had arrived. Winslow, on the second of September, issued a written order, commanding the inhabitants of Grand Pré, Minas and other places adjoining to attend at the Church at Grand Pré, for the purpose of hearing His Majesty's instructions respecting them. A large number consequently attended, having no idea that immediate steps for their removal were contemplated, when Winslow thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I have received from His Excellency Governor Lawrence, the King's commission, which I hold in my hand; and by his orders you are convened together, to manifest to you His Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this his Province of Nova Scotia, who, for almost half a century, have had more indulgence granted to them than any of His Majesty's subjects, in any part of his dominions; what use you have made of it, you yourselves best know. The path of duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species; but it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey such orders as I receive, and, therefore, without hesitation, deliver to you His Majesty's orders and instructions, namely, that your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds and live stock of all sorts are forfeited to the Crown, with all your other effects, saving your money and household goods, and you yourselves to be removed from this his Province. Thus, it is peremptorily His Majesty's orders that the whole French inhabitants of these districts be removed; and I am, through His Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can, without discommoding the vessels you go in. I shall do every thing in my power that all these goods be secured to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off; also, that whole families shall go in the same vessels, and make this

remove, which I am sensible must give you a great deal of trouble, as easy as His Majesty's service will admit; and hope that in whatsoever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects—a peaceable and happy people. I must also inform you that it is His Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security under the inspection and directions of the troops that I have the honor to command." These words fell like a thunderbolt on the assembly. The calamity was so sudden and unexpected that the people could not for some time realise their true position when they were declared prisoners. The number collected for removal at Grand Pré was 1,923 souls. A number escaped to the woods, from which they beheld the smoke of their burning habitations; for the command to destroy all means of shelter and subsistence was rapidly executed. In the district of Minas alone, says Haliburton, there were 255 houses, 276 barns, 155 out-houses, 11 mills and 1 church destroyed. The people were so paralysed at such wholesale destruction, that they appeared quite resigned, according to a letter from Captain Murray, in reply to one sent to him by Colonel Winslow. Their resignation, however, was the resignation of despair; and when, on the tenth of September, they were driven on board the transports, nature found relief in loud lamentations at their fate.

At Annapolis and Cumberland the people left their dwellings and fled to the woods. At the latter place two hundred and fifty-three houses were set on fire, and all the harvest produce at the same time destroyed. Here the military encountered partial opposition. While engaged in the work of destruction they were attacked by a body of French and Indians, when Dr. March and five or six privates were killed and a number wounded.

In the meantime, one of the transports which sailed from Annapolis Royal was seized by the passengers, consisting of thirty-six families, numbering in all two hundred and

twenty-six souls, and taken to the river St. John. Another, through stress of weather, was driven to the West Indies. At the various colonies at which the unfortunate Acadians arrived they were not by any means made welcome. As winter had now set in, it was impossible to find employment for such as were able to work, and their maintenance, therefore, became a serious burden to the Colonial Governments, who, consequently, wrote Governor Lawrence, demanding money for their support, which the Governor was in no haste to supply, his object being simply to get quit of bad subjects, and not concerning himself as to how they fared in the lands to which they had been transported, provided their return to the Province was prevented. According to a despatch addressed to Governor Lawrence by the Lords of Trade, in July, 1756, it seems that several hundreds of the Acadians had been sent to England from Virginia and South Carolina. Lieutenant-Governor Phips writes, in July of the same year, to Lawrence that seven boats containing about ninety of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, had coasted along shore from Georgia, and had arrived at a harbor in the southern part of Massachusetts, where the unfortunate wanderers were received, three or four of them having been sent to Boston to be examined. On receiving this intelligence, Lawrence immediately addressed a circular to the Governors on the Continent, entreating them to prevent the return of the people, by destroying any vessels they may have prepared "for so pernicious an undertaking as their return to Nova Scotia." The Lords of Trade, in writing to Lawrence, in March, 1757, and expressing approval of the means used to prevent the return of the banished people, state that if they had not been prudently stopped, "there was no attempt, however desperate and cruel, which might not be expected from persons exasperated as they must have been by the treatment they had met with." Indeed, the Lords of Trade seem to have received Governor Lawrence's

account of the removal of the French somewhat coldly, giving only a negative sort of assent to the expediency of the proceedings.

But the question occurs—Assuming that the removal of the Acadians was for reasons of state absolutely necessary—was the British Government justified in transporting the entire population—men, women and children—to the other colonies where their language was unknown, and their religion was regarded as heresy, without even provision having been made for their maintenance? That question must surely be answered in the negative. It is granted that to have permitted them to remove to Cape Breton and thus augment the power of the enemy, would have been worse than foolish, but the difficulty could have been solved by sending them to France. That was the course which would most naturally occur, and that of which Governor Lawrence first thought, as clearly appears by a passage in a despatch addressed by him to the Lords of Trade on the eighteenth July, 1755, where, in referring to an interview with the Acadians, he says—"The next morning they appeared and refused to take the oath without the old reserve of not being obliged to bear arms, upon which they were acquainted that, as they refused to become English subjects, we could no longer look upon them in that light; that we should send them to France by the first opportunity; and till then they were ordered to be kept prisoners at George's Island, where they were immediately conducted." The Acadians were repeatedly informed that they would be sent away from the Province, and forfeit all their property unless they consented to become British subjects, but they were not told that the penalty of refusal was to be packed on board ship, and transported to countries alien in language and religion—that members of families were to be cruelly separated from each other; that venerable old men and women, and fair Acadian maidens were to be reduced

to a state of beggary in strange lands. The transportation of the people in the manner executed was a blunder, and it is far more manly to acknowledge it as such than vainly to attempt to palliate or to excuse conduct at which, when coolly viewed in relation to its consequences, the moral instincts of mankind shudder. It would be unjust to the memory of the Honorable Charles Lawrence to say that he himself was at first cognizant of the consequences involved in his policy, but an impartial historian, on a review of his public life, can scarcely fail to remark that when the panorama of Acadian suffering was fully unfolded to his view he beheld it with a countenance as unmoved as that of Napoleon, when on the day after a bloody battle he deliberately rode over the field—as was his wont—beholding without any visible emotion the havoc of war.

CHAPTER VIII.

Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher—His life—Legislative power of Governor and Council doubted—Governor Lawrence objects to the calling of an Assembly—The people petition the Crown—Lawrence's despatch to the Lords of Trade—Their reply—The first House of Assembly—The Governor's opening speech—The business of the House—Jonathan Binney—William Nesbitt—War declared against France—Arrival of Admiral Holborne at Halifax—Dispersion of his fleet—Arrival of the fleet under Admiral Boscawen—Landing of the troops at Gabarus Bay—Investment of Louisbourg—Capitulation of the fortress—Gallant conduct of General Wolfe—His expedition to Quebec—The siege—Battle on the Plains of Abraham—Death of Wolfe—Death of Governor Lawrence—His character—Destruction of Louisbourg—Domestic policy of Lawrence—His efforts to induce immigration—Division of the land—Arrival of immigrants—Jonathan Belcher succeeds to the Governorship—His despatch to the Lords of Trade—Establishment of townships at Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth—Rebuilding of the dykes—Road-making—Social condition of the people—Settlements in Annapolis, Granville, Chester and Dublin—Dissolution of the House of Assembly—Treaty with the Indians—Capitulation of St. Johns, Newfoundland, to four French men-of-war—Alarm at Halifax—Measures of defence—Transportation of Acadians to Massachusetts, and their return—Lord Colville takes possession of St. Johns—Declaration of peace—North America ceded to Great Britain.

About the beginning of the year 1755 the attention of the Lords of Trade was directed by Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher to the important constitutional question, whether the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia had the power to pass laws without an Assembly. Belcher was the second son of Governor Belcher of Massachusetts. He graduated at Harvard College, and was educated for the legal profession. He completed his studies in England, where he

became a member of the Society of the Middle Temple. The appointment of Chief Justice of Nova Scotia was conferred upon him in 1754. He was a firm friend of the people, but though an opponent of the policy of Governor Lawrence, which was extremely conservative, yet they do not seem to have had an open rupture. Belcher wisely restricted his public acts to his own special province, and thus proved more than a match for his able opponent. The question as to the right of the Governor and Council to enact laws without the co-operation of a Legislative Assembly was submitted by the Home Government to Her Majesty's Attorney General and Solicitor General for their opinion, when they decided that the Governor and Council alone were not authorized to make laws. As some statutes had been passed, it followed that they were not valid. The Government, in informing Lawrence of the opinion, cautioned him not to give it publicity till an assembly had been called and an act of indemnification obtained. In the meantime the Governor represented to the Government that the obstacles to the calling of an assembly were insuperable, manifesting in all his despatches on the subject the utmost reluctance to transfer any of the duties and responsibilities of government to a legislative body. In reply to the objections of the Governor the Lords of Trade said that whilst they were fully sensible of the numberless difficulties which would arise from carrying the plan of an Assembly into execution in the present state of the Province, yet they were of opinion that the want of proper authority in the Government and Council to enact such laws as were absolutely necessary in the administration of civil government was an inconvenience still greater than all these, and might lead to very serious consequences in the event of the legal functions of the Governor and Council being called in question, and that though His Majesty's subjects had hitherto acquiesced in the ordinances passed, yet their Lordships could by no means think that such or any

other reason could justify the exercise of an illegal authority. These arguments, which to any ordinary person would seem irresistible, were not so in the estimation of Governor Lawrence, who, amongst other arguments against an Assembly, referred to the case of Virginia where, he alleged, laws were enacted in the same manner, and continued in force till an Assembly could be easily convened for their confirmation, in answer to which their Lordships remarked that whilst it was quite true that the Council of Virginia passed laws in the infancy of the colony, yet they derived the power of doing so from their commission, which was also the case with many of the other colonies at their first settlement, though it was a power of very short duration; and in later times when the constitution of Britain had been restored to its true principles it was deemed advisable to grant no such authority in future. The extremely conservative Governor was afraid of the merchants of Halifax wielding a preponderating influence in the proposed Assembly. The Chief Justice had suggested that an Assembly should be convened by electing twelve members for the Province in the form of a county election. Lawrence argued that as the Assembly was to be convened in Halifax, which most likely would not be the residence of the landed people, but of the merchants, the former, whose well being was, as he thought, much more connected with the security of the Province, would be mostly excluded, and the Assembly chiefly composed of the latter, who were not so nearly concerned in its welfare, and who might sometimes have views and interests incompatible with the measures necessary to be taken in a Province so contiguous both by land and water to the whole force of the French in North America.

The people were, however, determined to press the Crown for an Assembly, and accordingly transmitted a petition setting forth the evils arising from the absence of a representative body. This movement seems to have been unknown

to Governor Lawrence, or if known to him he deemed it expedient to affect ignorance of it. His attention to the petition having been called by the Lords of Trade, he wrote to them in a bitter and even sarcastic tone, stating that he could not conjecture what reasons could be given to their Lordships by the petitioners to induce them to think that the people labored under inconvenience for want of an Assembly—boldly insinuating that the petition was put up by malevolent and ill-designing men, who took occasion to misrepresent the state of affairs to the prejudice of the colony. The orders for the calling of an Assembly were, however, peremptory, and Lawrence had to give way to some extent. At a meeting of the Council held on the third December, 1756, Jonathan Belcher took the oaths as a member of the Council, and his seat at the Board. His Excellency then submitted to the Council proposals which Mr. Belcher, as Chief Justice, had laid before him last year for the calling of a House of Representatives, and which had been transmitted to the Lords of Trade for their consideration; also extracts of despatches he had received from their Lordships, wherein they had directed measures to be adopted for calling such a House. It was accordingly agreed at a subsequent meeting, held on the third January, 1757, that the House should consist of twenty-two members, twelve for the Province at large, till the same should be divided into counties, four for the township of Halifax, two for that of Lunenburg, and one each for the townships of Dartmouth, Lawrencetown, Annapolis Royal and Cumberland—sixteen members to be a quorum besides the Speaker, and the possession of a freehold estate being an indispensible qualification for voting. Though every necessary preparation was thus made for the calling of a House of Representatives, Lawrence still threw obstacles in the way, and made one more attempt to postpone it indefinitely. On the ninth of November, 1757, he addressed a communication to the

Lords of Trade, in which he almost beseeched them not to insist on the calling of an Assembly at present. He assured their Lordships that no person whatever, with whom he had conversed and on whose judgment and advice he could rely, had of late considered the measure of calling an Assembly, in the circumstances of the country, otherwise than as chimerical—that the most substantial of the inhabitants were opposed to it by a memorial sent to their Lordships, whom, he assures, that the persons favorable to an Assembly are pressing for it to influence the minds of the people whom they are attempting to deceive, in order to deprive him of their confidence and regard, and, in short, to embarrass the Government, being actuated by motives of private advantage, and of resentment for disappointments in places and employments, with which it was not in his power to gratify them. For the reasons thus specified he hopes their Lordships will not be displeased that their instructions have not been carried out. Their Lordships replied that, having fully considered the Governor's letter in regard to the calling of an Assembly, and also the place for that purpose, and having so often and so fully repeated to him their sense and opinion of the propriety and necessity of the measure, it now only remained for them to direct its being carried into immediate execution, that His Majesty's subjects—great part of whom were alleged to have quitted the Province, on account of the great discontent prevailing for want of an Assembly—might no longer be deprived of that privilege, which had been promised by His Majesty when the settlement of the colony was first undertaken, and was one of the conditions on which they accepted the proposals then made. Their Lordships added, that they were sensible the execution of the measure, in the present situation of the Province, would be attended with many difficulties, and possibly might, in its consequences, in some respects interfere with His Majesty's service, but without regard to that consideration, or what might

be the opinion of individuals, they thought it of indispensible necessity that it should be immediately carried into execution. These peremptory instructions Lawrence could not evade. Accordingly, at a meeting of Council, held on the twentieth of May, 1758, the scheme previously adopted was modified—a resolution to the following effect having been adopted:—That a House of Representatives of the inhabitants of this Province be the Civil Legislature thereof, in conjunction with the Governor for the time being and the Council—the first house to be elected and convened in the following manner, and to be designated the General Assembly—that there shall be elected for the Province at large, till the same shall be divided into counties, sixteen members; for the township of Halifax, four; and for the township of Lunenburg, two; that when fifty qualified electors shall be settled at Pizequid, Minas, Cobequid, or any other township which may hereafter be erected, each of the said townships so erected shall be, for their encouragement, entitled to send two representatives to the Assembly, and shall likewise have a right of voting in the election of representatives for the Province at large—that the house shall always consist of at least eleven members, besides the Speaker, before they enter on any business—the remaining clauses to be the same as those contained in the minutes of Council of the third of January, 1757.

The Assembly met on the seventh of October, 1758, and, after electing Robert Sanderson, Speaker, passed a number of laws, with less alteration, as the Governor assures the Lords of Trade, than he had anticipated, which must have been satisfactory to their Lordships, as, in addressing them previous to the meeting of the House, he assures them that some of the men elected are not such as have been most remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to His Majesty's Government in the Province. Notwithstanding this opinion of the character of some of the members, the Gov-

ernor, in his opening speech, assured the House that he met them with particular pleasure, entertaining the most sanguine hopes that they were come together unanimously disposed to promote the service of the Crown, or, in other words, the real welfare and prosperity of the people, and assuring them that he was ready to concur in such laws as might appear, on mature consideration, consistent with the honor and dignity of the Crown, and conducive to the lasting happiness of His Majesty's subjects.

After the house had elected officers the question was put whether any money should be voted to the members for their services during the present session, when it was unanimously resolved that the members should serve without any remuneration.

Next day the address which had been prepared in answer to His Excellency's speech, was read to him by the Speaker, in which the Assembly, after expressing their attachment to the Crown, and their gratitude for the Royal bounty to the colony, and particularly for calling them together, stated their determination to promote the welfare and peaceable government of His Majesty in the Province.

Among the members of the first Assembly appears the name of Jonathan Binney, who was a native of Hull, near Boston. He was elected a member of the House of Assembly for the town of Halifax in July, 1761, and was appointed to the Council by Governor Wilmot, in November, 1764. In the year 1768, he was made second judge at the island of St. John—now Prince Edward Island—and was afterwards sent to Canso as collector of duties, and superintendent of that place, and the same year was appointed collector of Impost and Excise at the island of St. John. He went to England in 1776 to answer charges made against him by Governor Legg, regarding his conduct as collector, which he afterwards completely refuted. Mr. Binney married Hannah, daughter of the Hon. Henry Newton, and was father of the

late Hon. Hubert N. Binney, and Stephen Binney, Esq., of Halifax.*

The name of William Nesbitt also appears amongst the members. He was made Speaker next session. He accompanied Governor Cornwallis to the Province in 1749, as one of the Government clerks, and appears to have performed, in conjunction with Archibald Hinchelwood, the duties of the Secretary's office for several years. He afterwards practised as an attorney and solicitor at Halifax, where many of the conveyances of land appear in his handwriting. He succeeded Mr. Little as Attorney-General of the colony, which office he held for nearly twenty-five years. He occupied the chair of the House of Assembly, with the intermission of the session of 1774, till 1783, when he retired on a pension of one hundred pounds per annum. He died in the following year. During the period of his Speakership the House sat fourteen years without a dissolution, and was thus the long Parliament of Nova Scotia. Mr. Nesbitt's house was in Grafton street, Halifax. He is supposed to have left no male heirs in this country. His daughter, Mrs. Swan, died in the old house in Grafton street about thirty-eight years ago. The portraits of Speaker Nesbitt and his lady are in the library of King's College, Windsor.

War against France had been declared in London on the eighteenth of May, 1756. One of the principal reasons of the declaration being the encroachments of the French in the Province of Nova Scotia. In the speech delivered by the King from the Throne in December following, he declared that the success and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and solicitude, and observed that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed from late losses in that coun-

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*Archives, p. 729.

try demanded resolutions of vigor and dispatch. In April, 1757, Admiral Holborne left for America with eleven ships of the line, and fifty transports, on board of which there were six thousand soldiers, commanded by General Hopson.* On arriving at Halifax, Holborne ascertained that the strength of the enemy, both in ships and soldiers, who were prepared to defend Louisbourg, which he had intended to attack, was much superior to his own. He, therefore, contented himself with cruising off the coast of Cape Breton till the month of September, when a violent storm arose, which dispersed his fleet—some of his ships arriving safe at Portsmouth, and others, much damaged, getting to New York. But it was determined to make further efforts for the reduction of Louisbourg. Admiral Boscawen was accordingly despatched with a powerful fleet to Halifax, where he arrived in May, 1758. Major-General Amherst had command of the land forces, and the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and forty sail, took their departure from the harbor of Halifax on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the second of June part of the transports arrived at Gabarus Bay, near Louisbourg, which was defended by a strong garrison. The harbor was protected by six ships of the line, and five frigates—three of which had been sunk in order to prevent the entrance of the English fleet. On the eighth of June preparations were made for effecting a landing, the troops being assembled in boats in three divisions. Several sloops and frigates lay along the beach which they scoured with shot briskly for a quarter of an hour, when the division on the left, under Brigadier-General Wolfe, rowed towards the shore amidst a storm of cannon and musketry. But Wolfe continued his course straight to the intended place of debarkation, and with his men, leaping into the surf, advanced bravely, and despite the desperate efforts of the enemy,

* Archives, p. 558.

obtained a firm footing on shore, and attacking them with the utmost fury, drove them towards the ramparts. The other divisions now followed Wolfe's example, and succeeded in effecting a landing also. The stores and artillery soon followed, and the great fortress was regularly invested. *

In the meantime M. Drucour, the Governor of Louisbourg, having destroyed the battery, which was placed at a considerable distance from the walls, concentrated his forces and prepared for a vigorous defence. Wolfe having marched round towards the north-east portion of the harbor, and taken possession of the light-house point, erected batteries, which silenced the island fortifications. On the twenty-first day of July, the three great French ships *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux* and *Célèbre* were set on fire by bomb-shells, and totally destroyed. It was resolved to attempt the destruction of the two remaining ships. In order to effect this, two young captains, Lafaroy and Balfour, with the boats of the squadron, advanced at night, and boarded them, sword in hand, setting one of them on fire and towing the other out of the harbor in triumph. The besieged were so hard pressed after this event—every

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* The garrison of Louisbourg when the English landed consisted of:

	Men.
Twenty-four companies of infantry and two companies of artillery—in all	1,200
The second Battalion of the Regiment of Volontaires Etrangers.	600
" " Artois " .	500
" " Burgoyne " .	450
" " Chambise " .	650
Total	3,400

There were also in the town seven hundred burgher militia and a number of Indians, and in the harbor the following ships of war:—

Le Prudent	74 guns	La Chèvre	16 guns
L'Entrepenant	74 "	La Biche	16 "
Le Capricieux	64 "	Le Fidèle	36 "
Le Célèbre	64 "	L'Echo	32 "
Le Bienfaisant	64 "	La Diane	36 "
L'Apollon	50 "	L'Aréthuse	36 "

obstacle to a general attack being now removed—that the Governor sent a letter to the English admiral, desiring a capitulation on favorable terms, to which the latter replied that the garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war. The Chevalier Drucour, offended at the hard terms proposed, replied that rather than submit to them, he would sustain a general assault. The inhabitants and traders having earnestly petitioned for compliance, the Governor reluctantly gave way, and, on the twenty-sixth of July, the English were once more in possession of the great stronghold. The joyful intelligence was speedily conveyed to England, where it was received with every mark of satisfaction. Addresses of congratulation to the King poured in from all quarters. Captain Amherst, brother to the commander, who had conveyed particulars of the siege to England, had with him eleven pair of colors taken at Louisbourg, which, by command of the King, were carried in triumph from the Palace of Kensington to St. Paul's Cathedral.

After the reduction of Louisbourg, several war-ships were detached to seize on the island of St. John, which was effected without difficulty. The inhabitants were said to have numbered about four thousand—the stock of cattle being about ten thousand head. There was a brisk trade carried on between this island and Quebec, in grain and live stock.

General Wolfe had displayed talents in the conduct of the siege of Louisbourg which attracted the attention of Europe, and he was therefore selected, as the most competent general, to head an attack on Quebec. A powerful fleet, under Admiral Saunders, ascended the St. Lawrence, and reached the Island of Orleans on the twenty-fifth day of June, 1759. Here the land force disembarked—the fleet anchoring under cover of the island—Cook, the celebrated navigator, having been employed on the occasion in taking soundings. The French had prepared fire-ships, and sent seven of them, flaming, towards the fleet. Their advance

having been at once noticed, no time was lost in sending boats to intercept them. They were thus easily secured, and prevented from doing damage. Wolfe, in the meantime, brought his batteries to bear on the town with terrible effect. On the night of the eighth of August the lower town was entirely consumed by fire. Masked as the attacking batteries were by brushwood, the cannon on the ramparts could do them no material damage. The inhabitants suffered severely. Garneau, in his "History of Canada," refers to the destruction of the town, and the ravaging of the surrounding country, as unwarrantable acts, which stain the memory of the heroic Wolfe, forgetting that Wolfe's object was *to take* Quebec, and that he was too good a general to employ his army in wanton acts of destruction, which did not directly tend to weaken the enemy, and facilitate the accomplishment of his purpose. The defence of Montcalm, the French general, was able, and the English sustained heavy losses in several engagements, which appeared to render success almost hopeless. At this critical period, Wolfe was attacked by a malady which brought him almost to the grave, but from which he recovered. When convalescent, a council of war was held, at which the question, as to the best mode of attack, was discussed, when, after due deliberation, it was resolved to secure a footing above the city, and thus entirely change the base of operations. After various movements, which were intended to deceive the enemy as to his intentions, Wolfe landed his forces near the Plains of Abraham, to the astonishment of Montcalm, who, however, rashly resolved to attack the British, ere they could obtain a firm footing, without waiting for re-inforcements. Wolfe, knowing a retreat was impossible if he were defeated, passed along the ranks of his army, like Bruce on the eve of the battle of Bannockburn, endeavoring not without success, to animate his men to fight bravely. He ordered them to load their pieces with two balls, and

not to fire a shot till the enemy were within a few paces of them. His instructions were carried out with the utmost coolness and precision. The French advanced rapidly, firing irregularly and without much effect. The British remained rooted to the earth till their opponents had approached within a very short distance, when, taking deliberate aim, they gave so deadly a volley that the enemy were thrown into disorder. Wolfe ordered an immediate advance. Early in the engagement he was wounded in the wrist, and whilst leading his men with the utmost ardor, and confident of victory, he was struck by a ball in the breast, and carried to the rear. "They flee," remarked some one. "Who?" said the General. "The French," was the reply. "What? already; then I die content!" responded the hero, and expired, in the thirty-second year of his age. General Montcalm also fell, having been wounded in three places. The battle on the Plains of Abraham decided the fate of Quebec, and, indeed, led to the cession of Canada to Great Britain.

Intelligence of the success of His Majesty's arms was received in Halifax with the greatest satisfaction, which found vent in bonfires, illuminations, and public and private entertainments. The Settlement had been kept in a state of chronic alarm for fear of French invasion, and it was now universally felt that Louisbourg and Quebec being in the hands of the British there was no further immediate danger.

Governor Lawrence died on the nineteenth of October, 1760, after eight days illness, of inflammation of the lungs, caused by a cold taken at a ball held in Government house. The legislature voted a monument to his memory, to be erected in St. Paul's Church, Halifax, to mark their sense of the many important services which the Province had received from him during a continued course of zealous and indefatigable endeavours for the public good, and as a wise, upright, and disinterested administrator. The expense of

the funeral was defrayed from the Provincial funds. "Few men ever gave so much satisfaction to the Government by whom he was employed," says Mr. Haliburton, "and to the people over whom he presided." "He was a man inflexible in his purposes, and held control with no feeble hands," says Mr. Murdoch; "earnest and resolute, he pursued the object of establishing and confirming British authority here with marked success." Lawrence had certainly many of the qualities necessary to constitute an able Governor, but his treatment of the Acadians was cold and unrelenting, if not positively cruel. Referring to the removal of the Acadians, Mr. Haliburton says, "Upon an impartial review of the transactions of the period, it must be admitted that the transportation of the Acadians to distant colonies with all the marks of ignominy and guilt peculiar to convicts was cruel." We are informed on good authority that the opinion of this eminent author was latterly modified in regard to the policy of the measure, and the means by which it was executed. He has not, however, published the grounds on which such modification of opinion was based, but a perusal of all the facts and circumstances connected with the affair cannot fail in leading an unprejudiced reader to the conclusion that Governor Lawrence in the execution of a necessary duty might, without any detriment to the public service, have had regard to the dictates of humanity, which on the occasion were ruthlessly ignored.

The year 1760 was also rendered notable in Provincial history by an order issued by the British Government for the demolition of the great fortress of Louisbourg. That great stronghold was so identified with French dominancy in Acadia that so long as it remained in the hands of the British, the French would always entertain the hope of recovering it, which would form a stimulus to contention. Competent engineers were therefore sent from Britain to

demolish the works, which was skilfully and speedily effected.

We must now turn for a little to the domestic affairs of the Province. In no department of duty did Lawrence display more ability and judgment than in the arrangements made for the settlement of the Province. It was the desire of the Home Government that the land should be occupied by disbanded soldiers. Against this policy the Governor earnestly remonstrated, declaring that soldiers were the least qualified, from their profession, of any men living to establish a new colony. The Government appreciated the force of the objections offered, and the Governor was permitted to adopt measures to bring a more suitable class of settlers into the Province. A Proclamation having been issued inviting settlers, inquiries were made of the Provincial Agent at Boston as to the terms on which land was to be obtained. It was proposed that townships should consist of about one hundred thousand acres, or twelve square miles. One hundred acres were to be allowed each settler, and fifty acres to every member of his family. The settler came under an obligation to cultivate the land in thirty years. Agents from persons in Connecticut and Rhode Island who intended to remove to the Province came to Halifax in the year 1759. Having examined the land the gentlemen from Connecticut proposed to have a township at Minas, and others agreed to obtain settlers for townships at Chegnecto and Cobequid. The agents were instructed to inform intending settlers that as soon as a township consisted of fifty families it should have the right to send two representatives to the General Assembly. Soon after this, immigration into the Province set in on a considerable scale—six vessels having arrived from Boston with two hundred settlers, and four schooners from Rhode Island with a hundred. New London and Plymouth

furnished two hundred and eighty, and Ireland, under the management of Alexander McNutt, three hundred.

The Hon. Jonathan Belcher, who had succeeded Governor Lawrence in the government of the Province, sent to the Lords of Trade, in December, 1760, an interesting report of the condition of certain settlements, in which he said:—"I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordships that the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth, are so well established that everything bears a hopeful appearance; as soon as these townships were laid out by the surveyor, palisaded forts were erected in each of them, by order of the late Governor, with room to secure all the inhabitants who were formed into a militia, to join what troops could be spared to oppose any attempts that might be formed against them by Indian tribes, which had not then surrendered, and bodies of French inhabitants who were hovering about the country. After the necessary business, the proper season coming on, they were employed in gathering hay for winter. One thousand tons were provided for Horton, five hundred for Cornwallis, and six hundred for Falmouth, and about this time they put some corn and roots in the ground, and began to build their houses. In the month of August, the late Governor having returned from Liverpool, made a progress into these settlements, where, after having regulated several matters, the great object of his attention were the dykes, of which the breach made in that of the river Canard, in the township of Cornwallis, as it was the greatest, was his first care. For this purpose the inhabitants, with their cattle and carriages, together with those hired from Horton, at their own expense, were joined with some of the Provincial troops, and Acadians, who were best acquainted with works of this kind, to make a collection of the necessary materials to repair the breach. A considerable quantity was accordingly got ready, when the inundation usual at this time of the year put a stop to the work for this season. However

the materials are all secured against the next undertaking, and care was immediately taken to protect as much of the dykes in this and the neighboring townships as would enclose land sufficient to raise bread corn for them the next year, except in Falmouth, where the upland is in very good condition for that purpose."

"The late Governor having observed how necessary it was that a good road should be made from Halifax into these settlements, immediately on his return ordered all the troops that could be spared from duty to be employed on this work, beginning at Fort Lockville. It was, at this time, very difficult to be passed in many places, on account of swamps and broken bridges, but it has since been finished so as to become a good horse road, by which it will be an easy day's journey in the summer time thence into the settlements. The greatest part of the expense of this will be defrayed out of a sum of money appropriated from a seizure of molasses."

"Many of the inhabitants are rich and in good circumstances. About one hundred have transported themselves and their effects, at their own expense, and are very well able to provide for their own support. As to the poorer sort there is provision made for them, until the month of August. In the township of Liverpool, they are now employed in building three vessels for the fishery, and have laid in hay for the winter fodder for their cattle, and have raised a considerable quantity of roots, and erected a grist and saw mill. They have sixteen sail of fishing schooners, and although several of them came late in the season, they have caught near five hundred quintals of fish; the principal owners of which have gone back to the continent to dispose of it, and will return in the spring for a further supply of stock for their lands. From these circumstances, I flatter myself, your Lordship will entertain a favorable opinion of this settlement. In regard to the townships of

Annapolis and Granville, about thirty proprietors are settled in each; as they came late in the year they did not bring all their families, but are preparing against their arrival in the spring, at which time the rest of the proprietors are expected. Of the townships of Chester and Dublin as they did not contract early in the year, but a few proprietors are yet come to each of them. However, persons of considerable substance are engaged in them, who are making preparations to come to their lands as early in the next year as the season will permit. In the engagements entered into for carrying on the settlements, no promises were made of transportation or care to any but the grantees of Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth, and although the latter grantees have readily and cheerfully engaged themselves, yet they pleaded much for such encouragements, and have found themselves partly obstructed for want of these advantages. As the perfect establishment of the settlements depends in a very great degree on the repairs of the dykes, for the security of the marsh lands, from whence the support of the inhabitants will become easy and plentiful, necessary measures for effecting this great point have been fully considered, and I humbly conceive that the dykes may be put into very good condition, if, with your Lordship's approbation, one hundred of the French inhabitants may be employed in different parts of the Province to assist and instruct in these repairs, the new settlers having come from a country in which no such works are wanting. I must not omit to mention to your Lordship, that the settlement of Lunenburg is in a very thriving condition, and that none are in want there, except the sickly and infirm."

On the death of George the Second, in October, 1760, the House of Assembly was dissolved, and the President and Council, in consequence of the great change in the population of the Province since the last election, resolved to alter the representation, providing for the counties of Halifax,

Lunenburg, Annapolis and Kings two members each; for the township of Halifax, four members, and for the townships of Lunenburg, Annapolis, Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth and Liverpool two members each—making in all twenty-four members. The new Assembly met on the first of July, 1761, when Mr. Nesbitt was again chosen speaker, and the House resolved to give their services during this session also without any charge to their constituents. During the session a treaty was entered into with the Indians —the hatchet having been buried with great formality in presence of the representatives, magistrates and public officers.

On the twenty-fourth of June, 1762, four French men-of-war, and a bomb ketch, entered the Bay of Bulls, in Newfoundland, and proceeded thence to St. John's, which was under the necessity of capitulating. The population of the town at this time consisted of about eight hundred souls. Intelligence of this hostile demonstration soon reached Halifax and caused great alarm. Measures for defence were immediately adopted. A boom of timber and iron chains was run across the northwest arm. The *Northumberland*, being the only ship of war at this time at Halifax, was placed in midchannel, in order to oppose the enemy's passage, and signals were established to give notice of the enemy's approach. In order to prevent a rising of the Acadians, of whom a considerable number still remained in the Province, the militia of Kings County collected one hundred and thirty of them, and brought them to Halifax; and the Council so far imitated the policy of Lawrence in reference to these unfortunate people, that they resolved to transport them to Massachusetts, which was accordingly done; but on their arrival, the Assembly of that Province, before which the despatches from Nova Scotia were laid, would not allow them to land, as the previous unwelcome shipment of the same class had been a burden to the

Province. The transports, therefore, returned with their human freight to Halifax, where they arrived in October.

In the meantime, Lord Colville had sailed with his squadron from Halifax to Newfoundland, and was speedily in possession of St. John's—the French ships having escaped. The garrison numbering six hundred and eighty-nine soldiers, became prisoners of war. Further hostilities between France and England were prevented by a declaration of peace on the eighth of November, 1762. According to the treaty which followed, France lost her grasp of North America—Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and all the islands in the river and gulf of the St. Lawrence being declared British territory.

In 1763, Colonel Montague Wilmot was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, in place of Mr. Belcher, and in the following year, the island of St. John, and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale were annexed to Nova Scotia.

In the year 1766, Lord William Campbell was appointed Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia. The following incident is recorded in the annual Register of 1765, of his Lordship. Lady Aylesbury, Lady Campbell, Miss Conway and Lord William Campbell were fishing near Henley-upon-Thames, when they heard a man calling out at a distance, boat! boat! At last a man appeared calling out there was a man drowning. Upon which his lordship and the ladies immediately set out, and came to the place, where they were shown something like a man lying at the bottom of the water. His lordship stirred the body with the pole of his boat, which was twenty feet long, but as the pole had no hook to it, and his lordship finding he was losing too much time, instantly pulled off his coat, and jumped into the water, which was sixteen feet deep, and though the man was under the trunk of an old tree, he brought him up and swam to shore with him. His lordship then ordered him to be blooded, and by great care of him he soon began to

draw breath, and being carried home perfectly recovered. Lord William Campbell, continues the writer, is a young gentleman, most deservedly esteemed, and is a most gallant and humane sea officer.

In 1773, Lord Campbell was appointed Governor-in Chief of the Province of South Carolina, and Francis Legge was appointed Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia in his place.

CHAPTER IX.

Early settlement of New England—Educational system—Boston—Character of the people—Protest of William Pitt against the passage of the Stamp Act—Alienation of the Colonists—Passive attitude of the Nova Scotians—Circular of the Massachusetts House of Representatives to House of Assembly—Its reception—Tone of public opinion in Boston—Prohibition by the Imperial Government of mining operations in Nova Scotia—Reasons therefor—Increased hostility of the Colonists to Great Britain—Beginning of hostilities—Precautionary measures of Governor Franklin—Depredations by the Colonists in the Bay of Fundy—Major Legge is appointed Governor—His inquiry into the expenditure of the Province—His character—New England privateers—Independence of the United States—Arrival of Loyalists in Nova Scotia—The Rev. Jacob Bailey—His early life—His arrival in Halifax—His singular appearance—Rev. Dr. Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's—Arrival of refugees at Annapolis—Death of Mr. Bailey—Civil and religious rights of Roman Catholics—Constitution of the Province of New Brunswick—Arrival of Prince William Henry in Halifax—His reception—Charges against Judges Deschamps and Brenton—Speech of Major Barclay—Decision of the House.

THE peace of Paris gave to Great Britain a line of colonies, extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. The designation New England was applied to Massachusetts which then included Maine and New Hampshire—Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Boston was the most important city in all the States, and was tacitly acknowledged the common capital of the New England colonies, if not of the entire American colonial sisterhood. The Puritans, who laid the foundation of New England, first landed in the year 1620, near Cape Cod, on

the shores of Massachusetts. One of the most remarkable characteristics of their early settlements was the value they attached to education. The foundation of Harvard College was laid as early as the year 1636, and eleven years afterwards it was enacted "that every township after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read, and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school, thus providing the germ of that system of national education which is now being so extensively adopted. Massachusetts has maintained its pre-eminence for literary culture most successfully, for Boston is now acknowledged to be in advance of all the other cities in the United States in general scholastic attainments.

The period that has elapsed since the arrival of the Puritans till the time of our narrative—nearly a century and a half—has produced a marked change in the habits of the people. Mr. John Adams, the second President of the United States, describes in his diary the elegant and sumptuous manner in which the houses in Boston were furnished. The Turkey carpets, the painted hangings, the marble tables, the rich beds with crimson damask curtains—all these things would have been regarded by the original settlers and their immediate descendants as indicating worldliness and vanity. But though the New Englanders thus conformed to the world in things in which modern Christians see no harm, yet they retained the stern religious character of their fathers, and were animated with a public spirit and courage which would brook no infringement on their rights, and were ever ready boldly to take the field in defence of their property or liberty. Their resistance to French encroachments was as pertinacious as it was successful, and their attachment to the British Crown was ardent and sincere till, by a series of unconstitutional measures, they were forced to

assume a hostile attitude, and ultimately to sever a connection they could no longer endure.

The name of Granville will ever remain associated with the disastrous policy which led to the declaration of American independence: so will the year 1765 continue remarkable as that in which the stamp tax was imposed on the American colonies. The sum expected from it was only about two hundred thousand pounds, but there was a principle involved which rendered the impost extremely objectionable to the colonists, namely, that taxation without representation was constitutional—a principle which they repudiated. The view taken of the question by Pitt, and to which he gave embodiment in great speeches, the fragments only of which have unfortunately came down to us, has been almost universally endorsed by posterity. The evil consequences of the measures which had been adopted during his absence from Parliament, seem to have presented themselves to his mind with peculiar force. "It is a long time," he said in addressing the House, "since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in the House to tax America I was in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed—so great was the agitation of my mind in consequence—I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. The justice, the equity, the policy of this measure I shall leave to another time, but since I cannot depend upon my health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will say now this much, that in my opinion this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. At the same time on every real point of legislation, I believe the authority of Parliament to be fixed as the polar star—fixed for the reciprocal benefit of the mother country and the infant colonies. The colonists are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the

rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen, and equally bound by its laws. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England."

Intelligence of the passing of the Stamp Act was received in America with intense indignation. In Boston and other cities riots took place during which valuable property was destroyed and life endangered. In Nova Scotia no opposition seems to have been made to the Stamp Act. The liberal grants made by Parliament for the settlement of Halifax, and the continuous circulation of money consequent on the maintenance of a considerable military and naval force in the Province, operated very naturally as a sedative. Efforts were, however, made by the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts to stimulate opposition in Nova Scotia. They addressed a circular to the Assembly dated the eleventh of February, 1768, in which they drew attention to the several acts of Parliament, imposing duties and taxes on the American colonists. They disclaimed any intention of dictating to the Assembly what its action should be in the circumstances, their desire being that all possible care should be taken that the representatives of the several Assemblies in dealing with so delicate a point should harmonize with each other. They wished their letter to be considered in no other light than as expressing a disposition freely to communicate their mind to a sister colony upon a common concern, in the same manner as they would be glad to receive the sentiments of any other House of Assembly.

They acknowledged that in all free States the constitution is fixed, and asserted that as the Supreme Legislature derived its power and authority from the constitution, it could not overleap the bounds of it without destroying its own foundation—that it was an essential unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British Constitution as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred by the subjects within the realm, that what a man hath honestly acquired is his own which he may

freely give, but that it cannot be taken from him without his own consent. They, therefore, argued, with the greatest deference to the wisdom of Parliament, that the acts passed there, imposing duties on the people of the colonies for the express purpose of raising a revenue, were infringements of their natural constitutional rights, because, as they were not represented in the British Parliament, their property, by these acts, was taxed without their consent, and assuming that the right to tax were inherent in Parliament, they deemed it unjust that they should not only pay the taxes to which the goods they imported from Great Britain were subjected there, but also an additional tax on their arrival in the colonies.

The document in which these potent arguments were contained was neither read in the Assembly nor answered. Lieutenant Governor Francklin was probably doubtful as to the impression the views advocated might make on the House, and forwarded it to the Earl of Shelburne, assuring his lordship, in the letter which accompanied the document, that no temptation, however great, would lead the inhabitants of Nova Scotia to show the least inclination to oppose acts of the British Parliament. As the circular was addressed to the Speaker of the Assembly and not to the Government, its transmission to the Home Authorities, without its being even read in the Assembly, seems to have been an irregular proceeding.

The tone of public opinion in Boston as to the recent conduct of the British Parliament in reference to the American colonies, is indicated by the report of proceedings at a celebration held in that city by the "Sons of Liberty," as reported in the Boston "Evening Post" of the twenty-second of August, 1768, when the following were some of the toasts proposed:—"Our Rightful Sovereign, George the Third"—"The Sons of Liberty throughout the world"—"A perpetual Union of Great Britain and her Colonies upon the

immutable principles of justice and equity"—"May the sinister designs of oppressors both in Great Britain and America be for ever defeated"—"A speedy repeal of unconstitutional Acts of Parliament, and a final removal of illegal oppressive offices"—"John Wilkes and all independent members of the British Parliament." In these toasts, and others which might be quoted, there is evidence that the attachment of the New Englanders to the parent state was not yet entirely alienated, whilst at the same time the popularity of Wilkes proves that there was a growing sympathy with the extreme political views for which that demagogue was noted.

In the year 1768 Lieutenant Governor Francklin,* who had been appointed Governor on the death of Governor Wilmot in 1766, received an order from the Secretary of State prohibiting the working of the coal deposits of Cape Breton.

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*Michael Francklin was a native of the south of England. He came to Halifax about the year 1752, and was engaged for many years in mercantile pursuits. He was elected a member of the House of Assembly in 1759, and appointed to His Majesty's Council on the third of May, 1762. In 1766 he received the appointment of Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, which he held till superseded by Admiral Arbuthnot, on the twenty-seventh of February, 1776, when he again took his seat at the Council Board. In this and the following year he was occupied in organizing the militia of the Province, and received the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. For several years before his death, Mr. Francklin was Commissioner of Indian Affairs for Nova Scotia. His exertions in support of British authority while administering the Government were greatly instrumental in preserving the tranquility of Nova Scotia during the period of the American revolt. In his letters to England he frequently complains of unfair treatment by Mr. Legge, who, for several years, held the appointment of Governor-in-Chief. Governor Francklin married a daughter of Joseph Bouteneau, of Boston, who was a granddaughter of Mr. Peter Faneuil, of that city. He had several children. The late James B. Francklin, for forty years Clerk of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, was his eldest son, whose only daughter married the Rev. R. F. Uniacke, Rector of St. George's, Halifax. Governor Francklin died in Halifax, on the eighth of November, 1782. (See Nova Scotia Archives.)

He was at the same time instructed to report as to the development of manufactures in the Province. Mr. Murdoch justly remarks: "It is obvious from this, as well as from a multitude of other facts, that a close jealousy existed with the manufacturers of England against any attempt in America to do anything in that line, and this narrow policy, influenced by a few avaricious capitalists engaged in manufactures, did more to lose the old Provinces to England than any other circumstance." As coal is indispensable to the conduct of any extensive manufacturing operations, it was justly considered that the prohibition to excavate it would be the most effectual mode of crushing any progress in industrial enterprise, thus compelling the colonists to purchase goods from the Mother country. Mr. Brown, in his history of Cape Breton, is unable to account for the policy of the British Government when, after the conclusion of the war with the United States, the Governors of Nova Scotia were instructed to give every encouragement to loyalists wishing to settle in the Province, while they were strictly prohibited, on any pretence whatever, to make land grants in the island of Cape Breton. The key to this policy, which was persevered in till the year 1784, is to be found in the dread which pervaded the mercantile mind in Great Britain lest the New Englanders should transfer to the region of coal a portion of that manufacturing enterprise which was now being so rapidly developed in the States, and which was quickened and stimulated by the determination not to be dependent for supplies on that great emporium of manufacturing industry. The Government, moreover, tried to conceal their motives in this prohibition by including in it the other islands comprehended in the Government of Nova Scotia.*

* Governor Franklin, in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne, said: "The country people, in general, work up, for their own use, into stockings, and a stuff called homespun, what little wool their few sheep produce; and they also make part of their coarse linen from the

The hostility to British connection continued to intensify among the colonists till in April, 1775, blood was shed, and war immediately ensued. The colonists had formed a Provincial arsenal about eighteen miles inland from Boston, General Gage had resolved to destroy it, and for that purpose sent a detachment of several hundred light troops. Pains had been taken to keep the movement secret, but the troops had advanced only a few miles into the country when bells were rung, and guns fired to give the alarm. The detachment arrived at the stores too late to effect their object, for save two or three cannon, a small quantity of ammunition, and a few barrels of flour, everything of value had, through the activity of the colonists, been removed. The troops now began their retreat, and were assailed from all quarters by numerous bands of militia. Had General Gage not taken the precaution of sending out another detachment to provide for an adverse result, the first would have been completely destroyed. The loss to the British in

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flax they produce. The townships of Truro, Onslow and Londonderry, consisting in the whole of six hundred and ninety-four men, women and children, composed of people chiefly from the north of Ireland, make all their linen, and even some little to spare to the neighboring towns. This year they raised seven thousand five hundred and twenty-four pounds of flax, which will probably be worked up, in their several families, during the winter. I cannot omit representing to your Lordship, on this occasion, that this Government has at no time given encouragement to manufactures which could interfere with those of Great Britain; nor has there been the least appearance of any association of private persons for that purpose; nor are there any persons who profess themselves weavers, so as to make it their employment or business, but only work at it, in their own families, during the winter and other leisure time. It may be also proper to observe to your Lordship that all the inhabitants of this Colony are employed either in husbandry, fishing, or providing lumber; and that all the manufactures for their clothing, and the utensils for farming and fishing, are made in Great Britain." (This quotation gives an interesting peep into the condition of Colchester in 1766, as well as indicates the entire absence of any encouragement on the part of the Government to home manufactures at that period.)

this skirmish—which the colonists designated the battle of Lexington—was two hundred and seventy-three, and that of the Americans about ninety. Such were the circumstances in which blood was first spilt in the contest.

In Nova Scotia a proclamation was issued by the Governor, in July, 1775, forbidding any correspondence with rebels in New England; and another was issued under an Act of the Assembly, prohibiting arms, gunpowder, and ammunition, from being exported, except by license from the Governor—these precautions being necessary in order to repress any disposition to derive large profits from the sale of articles for which a very high price could be obtained in the revolted colonies.

The enthusiasm with which the New Englanders began the war is proved by the alacrity with which a small community at Machias, in the Bay of Fundy, began hostile operations against British authority. Having been empowered by the Congress of Massachusetts to take any steps they chose against the King's forces, they had the audacity to capture an armed schooner in the King's service, in which operation several lives were lost. Encouraged by their success they fitted out a privateer to destroy British vessels engaged in conveying cattle and hay for the supply of the troops at Boston. Under the command of Stephen Smith, of Machias, delegate to the Massachusetts Congress, a sloop entered the River St. John, destroyed Fort Frederick, and captured a brig of one hundred and twenty tons, laden with supplies for Boston. A stop was put to these very bold acts by frigates which Admiral Graves sent to cruise in the Bay of Fundy.

Lieutenant-Governor Legge, to whom we have referred as appointed in 1773—a relative of the Earl of Dartmouth—was at this time Governor of Nova Scotia. He was a remarkably sharp man of business, and gave no small offence to persons in office by the rigid inquiry which he

instituted into the past expenditure of the Province. He complained to the Earl of Dartmouth, on his assuming office, that the Province was twenty thousand pounds in debt. On making inquiry about the books and accounts of the deceased treasurer, they were not to be found—in itself a most suspicious circumstance. Mr. Benjamin Green, the present treasurer, could give no account of them, and the widow of the late treasurer expressed equal ignorance of their existence. Actions were raised against John Newton and Jonathan Binney, and verdicts for seven hundred and thirty-six pounds currency was obtained in the Supreme Court. Mr. Newton paid into the treasury the sum recovered against him, but Binney was committed in default.

Lieutenant-Governor Francklin wrote to the Secretary of State, explaining the manner in which the money for the recovery of which Mr. Binney was prosecuted, had been voted to him as salary for certain services rendered, and on the assumption of his explanation being reliable, it is difficult to account for the legal verdict against Mr. Binney. Two things seem clear from a perusal of available facts—first, that there had been irregularity in the management of the finances of the Province; and, secondly, that Governor Legge was so very zealous in the public service as to impugn the integrity of men like Mr. Bulkeley,* whose honor, in

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* Reference has already been made to Richard Bulkeley, as editor of the first newspaper published in the Province, He accompanied Governor Cornwallis to Nova Scotia, in 1749, and became secretary of the Province about the year 1759, continued to fill that important office, under thirteen successive Governors, till the year 1793, when he was permitted to resign in favor of his son, Michael Freke Bulkeley. He was appointed member of Council in 1759, and administered the government of the Province, as senior Councillor, on the death of Governor Parr, in 1791. Mr. B. also held several offices of trust. He had been twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Capt. John Rous, R.N. She died in January, 1775. His eldest and youngest sons both died in Jamaica. His son Freke, who succeeded him as Provincial Secretary, and was also a member of Assembly for the county of

public estimation, was above suspicion. While Governor Legge was industrious, and had the faculty of discovering abuses in the administration of the public funds, yet he was most ungracious in manner, and when he was recalled, in May, 1776, the majority of the Council felt as if an incubus had been removed. Through family influence, Legge continued to hold, as a sinecure, the office of Governor for several years, and to receive the salary attached to it—the Government being carried on by Lieutenant-Governors, namely, Commodore Arbuthnot, Mr. Hughes, and Sir A. S. Hammond, R.N., the latter being succeeded by John Parr, in 1782, who held office for nine years.

During the war the New Englanders were most active in fitting out privateers, to prey on British commerce. Several combined in making an attack on Lunenburg, in the month of June, 1782. Having compelled some of the inhabitants to pilot them to the town, they landed in considerable force, and plundered the settlement—burning Mr. Creighton's house. In the following year, however, peace was concluded; and, when John Adams, the first minister at the Court of George the Third, presented himself at a levee, the King gave utterance to the following noble sentiments: "I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation; but, the separation having been made, and

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Halifax, died suddenly in 1796, at an early age. Mr. Bulkeley died on the seventh of December, 1800, at the age of eighty-three, beloved and respected by all classes throughout the Province. He left a widow and one son—the latter then residing in England. At his death he held the office of Judge of the Admiralty, Grand Master of the Freemasons, and Brigadier-General of Militia—a rank never since conferred on any militia officer in Nova Scotia. He maintained a character for uprightness and ability throughout his long career, and having outlived all his contemporaries, he had for years been esteemed the father of the Province. The old stone house, formerly the residence of the late Hon. H. H. Cogswell, at the corner of Prince and Argyle streets, was built by Mr. Bulkeley; he resided there at the time of his death. His escutcheon is in the west gallery of St. Paul's Church, Halifax.—See Nova Scotia Archives.

having become inevitable, I have always said, and I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power."

On the declaration of peace, Nova Scotia received a large accession to her population. Thousands of loyalists emigrated from the States to the Province. Governor Parr, in writing to Lord North, in September, 1783, intimates that about thirteen thousand refugees had arrived at Halifax, Annapolis, Port Roseway, the river St. John and Cumberland during the last few months. This enormous immigration took place so suddenly that the necessary preparations were not made for so large a number of people, and much suffering was the consequence. The Rev. Jacob Bailey of the Church of England, who ministered to the people of Annapolis, in the year 1783, furnishes a number of interesting facts which throw considerable light on the condition of the refugees, as well as on the general state of the Province at this period. Mr. Bailey was born at Rowley, Massachusetts, in the year 1731. His parents were poor, but the boy had a thirst for knowledge, which he strove to acquire under discouraging circumstances. He used to amuse himself by writing secretly on various subjects, and one of his papers having accidentally fallen into the hands of Mr. Jewett, the Congregational minister at Rowley, he paid the boy's father a visit, and requested that he should be put under his care for tuition. This proposal, according to his own account, he found encumbered with insuperable difficulties, for he imagined it impossible to introduce himself to the family without perishing under an intolerable weight of blushes, and the deepest confusion. He arose in the morning, having never closed his eyes the preceding night, and directed his course to the parson's. He passed the house, and walked backwards and forwards no less than ten times. At last, a strange pang of courage came upon him, and forced him up to the door; but, alas, when he

arrived his heart failed him, and his spirits began to sink, till finding that the eyes of a young female in the neighborhood were turned towards him, he concluded of the two evils prudentially to choose the lesser, and so instantly entered. He got over the difficulties of an introduction, and was put to learning that very afternoon, and, as he had the good fortune to perceive, greatly to the acceptance and admiration of his master.

Mr. Bailey entered Harvard College when he was twenty years of age. During the vacations he acted in the capacity of a teacher, and thus struggled through college. He at length received episcopal ordination in London, to which city he had gone for that purpose.

In the year 1760 Mr. Bailey was sent to Pownalborough, in the State of Maine, as a missionary, by the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts. There he labored for about eighteen years. The fact of his being supported by a British Society excited the indignation of many, and he was, as a loyalist, subjected to persecution of no ordinary severity, which led to his removal to Halifax in the year 1779. The account which Mr. Bailey gives of his condition on his arrival at Halifax will indicate the privations to which hundreds of respectable and educated loyalists were subjected at this period, whilst, at the same time, the numerous details will amuse the reader. Having entered the harbor, the vessel proceeded towards a wharf near the Pontac—the name of the hotel of that day. "We were now plainly sensible," writes Mr. Bailey, "that our uncouth habits and uncommon appearance had by this time attracted the notice of multitudes, who flocked towards the water to indulge their curiosity. These inquisitive strangers threw us into some confusion, and to prevent a multitude of impertinent interrogations, which might naturally be expected by persons in our circumstances, I made the following public declaration, standing on the quarter-deck—'Gentle-

men, we are a company of fugitives from Kennebeck, in New England, driven by famine and persecution to take refuge among you, and, therefore, I must entreat your candor and compassion to excuse the meanness and singularity of our dress.' I, at that moment, discerned among the gathering crowd Mr. Kitson, one of our Kennebeck neighbors, running down the street to our assistance. He came instantly on board, and after mutual salutation, helped us on shore. Thus, just a fortnight after we left our own beloved habitation, we found ourselves landed in a strange country, destitute of money, clothing, dwelling or furniture, aud wholly uncertain what countenance or protection we might obtain from the governing powers. Mr. Kitson kindly offered to conduct us either to Mr. Brum's or Captain Callahan's, and just as we had quitted our vessel, Mr. Moody, formerly clerk to the King's chapel, appeared to welcome our arrival. But as it may afford some diversion to the courteous reader, I will suspend my narrative a few moments to describe the singularity of our apparel, and the order of our procession through the streets, which were surprisingly contrasted by the elegant dresses of the ladies and gentlemen we happened to meet in our lengthy ambulation. And here I am confoundedly at a loss where to begin, whether with Captain Smith or myself, but as he was a faithful pilot to this haven of repose, I conclude it is no more than gratitude and complaisance to give him the preference. He was clothed in a long swingling threadbare coat, and the rest of his habit displayed the venerable signatures of antiquity, both in the form and materials. His hat carried a long peak before, exactly perpendicular to the longitude of his aquiline nose. On the right hand of this sleek commander shuffled along your very humble servant, having his feet adorned with a pair of shoes which sustained the marks of rebellion and independence. My legs were covered with a thick pair of blue woollen stock-

ings, which had been so often mended and darned by the fingers of frugality that scarce an atom of the original remained. My breeches, which just concealed the shame of my nakedness, had formerly been black, but the color being worn out by age, nothing remained but a rusty grey, bespattered with lint, and bedaubed with pitch. Over a coarse tow and linen shirt, manufactured in the looms of sedition, I sustained a coat and waistcoat of the same dandy grey russet, and to secrete from public inspection the innumerable rents, holes, and deformities which time and misfortune had wrought in these ragged and weather beaten garments, I was furnished with a blue surtout, fretted at the elbows, worn at the button holes, and stained with a variety of tints, so that it might truly be styled a coat of many colors, and to render this external deportment of my habit still more conspicuous and worthy of observation, the waist descended below my knees, and the skirts hung dangling about my heels; and to complete the whole a jaundice-coloured wig, devoid of curls, was shaded by the remnants of a rusty beaver, its monstrous brim replete with notches and furrows, and grown limpsy by the alternate inflictions of storms and sunshine, lopped over my shoulders, and obscured a face meagre with famine and wrinkled with solicitude. My consort and niece came lagging behind at a little distance, the former arrayed in a ragged baize night gown tied round her middle with a woollen string instead of a sash; the latter carried upon her back the tattered remains of an hemlock colored linsey-woolsey, and both their heads were adorned with bonnets composed of black moth-eaten stuff, almost devoured with the teeth of time. I forgot to mention the admirable figure of their petticoats, gogged at the bottom, distinguished by a multitude of fissures, and curiously drabbled in the mud, for a heavy rain was now beginning to set in. And to close this solemn procession Dr. Mayer and my faithful John marched

along in all the pride of poverty and majesty of rags and patches, which exhibited the various dyes of the rainbow. In this manner our procession began, and was supported till we arrived at Captain Callahan's, near half a mile from the place of our landing."

We must now introduce to the reader the Rev. Dr. Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's Church,* Halifax, at this time. "In a few minutes after," says Mr. Bailey, "we were favored with a visit from the polite and generous Dr. Breynton. He addressed us with that ease, freedom and gentleness peculiar to himself. His countenance exhibited a neat finished picture of compassionate good nature, and effusions of tenderness and humanity glistened in his venerable eyes when he had learned part of our history. He kindly assured us that he most heartily congratulated us on our fortunate deliverance from tyranny, oppression, and poverty, and he declared that we might depend on his attention and assistance to make us comfortable and happy. The turn of his features, and the manner of his expression afforded a convincing evidence of his sincerity, and the event afterwards gave me undeniable illustration that I was not mistaken in my favorable conjectures."

Here is a glimpse of Mr. Francklin, whose name has already

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* St. Paul's church was built in 1750. The Rev. Wm. Tutty, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a missionary sent to Halifax under the auspices of the Society for propagating the Gospel seems to have been the first minister who officiated in the church. In 1752 the Rev. John Breynton was appointed second missionary to the English inhabitants of Nova Scotia. On the death of Mr. Tutty in 1753, the Rev. T. Wood, from the Province of New Jersey, was appointed to Halifax. Mr. Wood having removed to Annapolis in 1763, the duties of the mission devolved entirely on Mr. Breynton. This useful missionary had established a school in the town in which fifty orphans, besides other children, were taught. He preached to the Germans in their own language, and was otherwise an able and eloquent preacher.

See Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North American Provinces, by Thomas Beamish Akins, Esq.

appeared in our narrative. The next person of consequence —continues Mr. Bailey—who engaged our attention was Mr. Francklin, formerly Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia. He had several Indians in his train, arrayed in all their tinsel finery—among the rest a Sachem belonging to the tribe of St. John's. This fellow, by the oddity of his appearance, and the singularity of his visage, immediately struck my imagination, and I was unable to look upon him without a mixture of hilarity and wonder. He was arrayed in a long blue coat, adorned with a scarlet cape, and bound close about his loins with a girdle. He wore upon his head a narrow brimmed flapped hat, and his face was an entire composition of wrinkles. I was admitted to the honor of shaking hands with this American monarch who eyed me from head to foot, and perceiving that I had more rags than finery about me, I plainly discerned that his complaisance was mingled with a degree of contempt, for, instead of pulling off his hat, he only touched it with his fingers and nodded his head, though I remarked a few days after, when I was dressed in a new suit of clothes, he approached me with higher marks of veneration, and did not fail to take his hat wholly from his head,"

Mr. Bailey was called to Cornwallis in the year 1779, where he ministered till the year 1782, when he returned to Annapolis. He describes the town at that time as containing one hundred and thirty inhabitants. A few months after his arrival at this new sphere of labor, the refugees began to arrive. In the month of October nine transports, convoyed by men of war, entered the basin. They contained five hundred souls sent by the British Government to Nova Scotia. Every habitation was crowded, and many were unable to procure lodgings. Some of the immigrants were persons of education who had occupied a respectable social position. A number of other vessels came in towards the end of the month, with immigrants of the same sort, to the aggregate number of a thousand souls. Hundreds had to be accommo-

dated in the churches, but there was a larger number for whom no accommodation whatever could be provided. Mr. Bailey represents the circumstances of these unfortunate people as truly wretched, and says that instead of increasing his emoluments they would daily make demands on his compassion and charity. At this period, the work of a clergyman settler in the country was sufficiently onerous. Once a month Mr. Bailey officiated at Granville, about fourteen miles from his home. He rode about twelve miles on Saturday, the next day proceeded about two miles by water, and frequently had to climb the banks of the river up to his knees in mud. Then after preaching two sermons, catechizing the children, and baptizing a number of infants, he returned home on Sunday evening by the same route. Mr. Bailey corresponded with an eccentric clergyman of the church, Dr. Peters of London, who in reference to his labors thus wrote —"This will reach you by the grace of Dr. Seabury, Bishop of Connecticut, who will wait on you, and give you his benediction of more value than mine, and twenty-six Right Reverend Lord Bishops. His certificate will be of great service to you at St. Peter's gate, who will admit you at sight of it into heaven, without touching at purgatory because you have resided in Nova Scotia nine years, which must have purged and sweated you more than three hundred and sixty-five days could have done in the Pope's prison. Your labors are truly hard, and your reward is in heaven along with our curates here, who bury seven in a day, christen ten to fifteen out and in the church, marry from three to seven couple per day, visit six or seven persons by night and by day, read and preach three times on each Sunday, and all for forty to forty-five pounds per annum!"

Mr. Bailey was rector of St. Luke's parish, Annapolis, for about twenty-five years, and died in July, 1808, aged seventy-seven years, leaving a widow, three sons and three daughters.

As early as the year 1783, just conceptions with respect

to the civil and religious rights of Roman Catholics, began to be entertained, public opinion in Nova Scotia being, on that subject, at that period, in advance of Great Britain. Hence we find that an act was passed in that year by which some of the disabilities imposed in less enlightened times by former laws were repealed. It was not, however, till the year 1829, when what is termed the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in the British Parliament, that Roman Catholics were put nearly on a level with Protestants as to civil and religious rights.

In the following year—1784—the Province of New Brunswick was constituted. Thomas Carleton was the first Governor. He and his family were received in St. John with great rejoicing by the loyalists. The settlers on the St. John river were not satisfied with Nova Scotian governmental rule, and seemed to have regarded their separation as a kind of emancipation from the bonds of what they designated "the arrogance of tyranny." Hence their own Governor was hailed as a deliverance. There is no evidence, however, that they had any great ground for complaint.

The year 1786 was rendered memorable in the Provincial Annals by the arrival in Halifax, on the fourth of October, from St. John's, Newfoundland, of Prince William Henry—afterwards William the Fourth. The general joy found expression in a brilliant illumination the town. The Prince remained for three weeks, leaving for the West Indies on the twenty-fifth of October. He returned again in June, 1787, and left, in a few days, for Quebec, whence he came back to Halifax in October, when he was munificently entertained by Governor Parr and the House of Assembly, by whom seven hundred pounds were voted for a dinner and ball in honor of His Royal Highness. Government House, at which he stayed, occupied at that time the site of the present Provincial building.

In the following year, 1788, the Province was startled by

charges of maladministration of law brought against two judges of the Supreme Court—Isaac Deschamps and James Brenton. Messrs. Sterns and Taylor, Attornies, were the principal accusers. The matter was brought under the notice of the Assembly, by a motion submitted by Major Milledge, the member for Digby. Sterns was summoned before the House, and made a long statement, by which he endeavored to establish his case. The House, without expressing any opinion, agreed to present an address to the Governor, requesting that an impartial investigation should take place, so that the guilt or innocence of the accused might be established. To this application His Excellency replied that many of the charges were matters of legal opinion, and that the insinuations of a more criminal nature appeared to be entirely destitute of foundation. He, however, assured the House that the case would be considered in such a way as to give satisfaction to all concerned. The case was subsequently submitted to the council for decision, who came to the conclusion that the charges were not substantiated. The imperfect report, which appears in the Nova Scotia Magazine for 1790, of some of the speeches delivered in connection with this business, shows that in the Assembly there were men of marked ability. Major Barclay particularly distinguished himself in the debate. Referring to the message of the Governor in reply to the address of the House, he said, the message from His Excellency was worded in such a way as not to give satisfaction to the House. It appeared, from the former part of it, His Excellency was prejudging the case, and in some measure acquitting the judges before any deliberate examination had been gone into, for His Excellency, in his answer, declared that part of the evidence adduced against the judges rested on abstract points of law, on which the judges in England frequently differed in opinion. He declared the reverse was positively the case, and that the charges against these gentlemen rested on fundamental principles. Assum-

ing that the questions were questions of law, His Excellency was wrong in constituting the council a court in their circumstances, and the council were wrong in presuming to pronounce an opinion on subjects respecting which they were confessedly ignorant. It was expected that such a fair inquiry would have been made as would have proved satisfactory. Had such an inquiry taken place—such an inquiry as the House had a right to expect—as the public had a right to expect—and as even the judges themselves had a right to expect? Did not His Majesty's council, when they went into the mock inquiry which had taken place, shut themselves up in the council chamber? Was any person admitted to give evidence on the occasion, or were even the judges themselves admitted? Did not even the two gentlemen, who had given information to the House, when they found the council was about to enter on an inquiry into the conduct of the judges, address the Governor by memorial, and offer to come forward and substantiate the information they had given before the House? Did they not inform His Excellency that the judges, were accused not barely on their information, but on the testimony of members belonging to that House? Did they not declare that only part of the information which they had given the House was reduced to writing? And did they not pray that they might be permitted to come forward as witnesses upon the occasion, and to substantiate, under oath, those facts which they had but imperfectly stated to the House? In order to impress the House with his sense of the absurdity of the proceedings he asked—"had His Majesty's council, upon a bare perusal of the information presented to them, and the answers of the judges in their own defence, found the judges guilty, would the latter have rested satisfied with so singular a trial? Would they not rather have come forward and loudly complained of the injury done to them by a mode of trial wanting every legal form established by the constitution? If, therefore, His Majesty's Justices of

the Supreme Court would not, in such a case, have been satisfied, surely the public on the present occasion had an equal right to complain. Bowing to the speaker and to the House, he requested them to lay their hands on their hearts and say whether they were satisfied with the proceedings of the Council in the case. He would take the liberty of answering for them and say they were not."

This case, which had excited deep interest throughout the Province, ended by a decision of His Majesty's Privy Council that the charges against the judges were not sustained, and consequently they were fully acquitted.

CHAPTER X.

Arrival of Governor Wentworth—Dissolution of the House of Assembly—Declaration of war between France and England—Measures for the defence of the Province—Numerical strength of the Militia—Arrival of Prince Edward in Halifax—A sketch of his life—His reception in Halifax—Loss of H.M. Ship *La Tribune*—The Prince's Lodge—H. R. H. meets with an accident, and returns to England—Is created Duke of Kent—Appointed Commander-in-Chief in British America—His arrival—Finally leaves for England—Appointed Governor of Gibraltar, and is recalled—His marriage—Birth of Princess Victoria—His death—Judge Haliburton's letter to Sir John Hervey in reference to the character of the Prince—His benevolence—He establishes Regimental Schools—Louis Ignace de Salaberry—The Prince's correspondence with the Salaberry family—Edward Salaberry—Amelia Salaberry.

It was in the year 1792, that John Wentworth, who had succeeded John Parr as Lieutenant-Governor, arrived in Halifax. He had previously been Governor of New Hampshire, and held for many years the office of Commissioner of Woods and Forests in America. On his assuming office he dissolved the Assembly which had sat for seven years, and convened a new one. The elections were conducted without undue excitement; and in writing to Mr. Dundas, the Secretary of State, the Governor gives credit to the new House for desiring to transact the public business with moderation and despatch.

War having been declared between France and England in 1793, the Governor set himself to the work of putting the Province in a state of defence. He accordingly took steps to raise a regiment of six hundred men. The town militia consisting of a similar number, were equipped from the

Ordnance store, and other defensive measures were adopted in the city with vigor. In the western districts of the Province three corps of militia were enrolled. At this exciting period the Governor assured Mr. Dundas, that in the event of an attack on Halifax, nine hundred men could be under arms in twenty minutes and be reinforced in two hours with six hundred more. He could calculate on a force of six thousand in the aggregate in the event of circumstances requiring their services—the whole military force of the Province being nine thousand one hundred and sixty men.

Intelligence having been received that a French fleet was at New York preparing for sea, and that Halifax might be its destination, a council of war was held, when it was resolved that the militia should be brought to town. A thousand men accordingly arrived with all possible speed from Hants, Kings and Annapolis counties, one company marching from Granville to Halifax—one hundred and thirty-five miles—in thirty-four hours. About four thousand men were assembled for the protection of the town. According to concurrent testimony the behaviour of the troops was admirable. They remained at their posts till about November, when the men returned to their homes, the French armament having left the American coast. The alacrity with which the young men of the Province at this juncture mustered for the defence of the country, their attention to drill, their sobriety and soldierly bearing, produced a most favorable impression.

In the month of May, 1794, the people of Nova Scotia were gratified by the arrival of Prince Edward—afterwards Duke of Kent—at Halifax. As the military connection of the Prince with Nova Scotia was eminently honorable to himself, and as his name will be permanently associated with the history of the Province, a very brief sketch of his life, at this stage of our narrative, may not be deemed inappropriate.

Edward Augustus, fourth son of George the Third, by his consort the Princess Charlotte, of Mecklenburgh-Stretlitz, was born at Buckingham House on the second of November, 1767. The following incident illustrative of his truthfulness when a boy is recorded by his tutor, Mr. Fisher—afterwards Bishop of Salisbury: "At Kew Palace there was a time-piece highly prized by George the Third; it was a clumsy affair; there was nothing particular in its construction, or ingenious about its movements. The only attraction it possessed arose from its historical associations. It had belonged to the youthful Duke of Gloucester, son of Queen Anne. One morning the pedestal of this relic was found vacant, and the time-piece itself lying on the ground a wreck. It had been battered by some heavy instrument, and lay shivered in fragments. Repair was hopeless. The dial was damaged irreparably. The King's displeasure was not light, and immediate inquiries were instituted. They issued in no satisfactory result; the culprit could not even be guessed at; no one had witnessed the disaster; no one could explain its occurrence. After many hours had elapsed by mere chance the question was put to Prince Edward. 'I did it,' was the instant and unhesitating reply. 'But,' said the party, anxious to screen the intrepid boy, 'your Royal Highness did it by accident?' 'No, I did it intentionally.' 'But your Royal Highness regrets what you have done?' 'No, not at all!' 'Not sorry?' 'No, I may be sorry for it to-morrow, but I certainly am not sorry for it now.' It was impossible to get over this avowal. The Prince was punished, and not slightly."

In the year 1785, Prince Edward being then in his eighteenth year, was sent to Luneburg, Hanover, to prosecute his studies. His royal father allowed one thousand pounds annually for his maintenance, but of that sum the Prince was granted only a guinea and a half a week for his personal expenses. His military superior he designated a

mercenary tyrant. After remaining a year in Luneburg, he was sent to Hanover, where he found no remedy for existing evils. He was subjected to a contemptible system of espionage, his letters were intercepted, and he was represented to his father as extravagant. His life he describes as "one never ending parade." In October, 1787, he experienced some relief by being sent to Geneva. Here six thousand pounds were allowed for his support, yet he still was limited to a guinea and a half for pocket money. In Geneva he met with young Englishmen with whom he was glad to associate, but felt so mortified and embarrassed for want of funds, that he contracted debt to a considerable amount. In the year 1790, he resolved to visit London. He put up on his arrival at a hotel, where he was immediately visited by his brothers, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. When the king was informed of his arrival he was very angry. He refused to see his son after an absence of six years, simply because he had presumed to quit his post without his orders. After remaining ten days in England, he was ordered to leave within twenty-four hours for Gibraltar. On the night before his departure he was admitted to the king's presence for five minutes only. On reaching Gibraltar, he was placed under the tutelage of Colonel Symes, a liberal-minded and kind-hearted man. The Prince was now Colonel of the Seventh Regiment of Foot. His system of discipline was so rigid as to make him unpopular with the troops. Rumors of his unpopularity reached England, and His Royal Highness and his regiment were ordered to embark for America. He stood high, however, in the estimation of his brother officers, who gave him a splendid entertainment on the eve of his departure for Canada.

He quitted Quebec in January, 1794, for the purpose of joining Sir Charles Grey in the West Indies, where he arrived on the fourth of March. A post of honor was im-

mediately assigned him. He headed the flank divison at the storming of several strong forts in Martinique and Guadaloupe. Sir Charles wrote in terms of the highest praise to His Majesty as to the conduct of his son. For his gallant services he received the thanks of the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

Prince Edward was now twenty-seven years of age, and although his brother, the Duke of York, had obtained his parliamentary allowance when he was twenty-one years, and the Duke of Clarence when he was twenty-four, yet no such provision was made for Prince Edward. And why? Doubtless because his political sentiments and enlightened views of government were in advance of the time—his political principles being antagonistic to those of his father, and being represented by certain busybodies as ultra-radical in their tendency.

The campaign of 1794 being ended, His Royal Highness returned to North America, arriving in Halifax on the tenth of May. The town was illuminated in honor of his arrival, and at a levée held at Government House, addresses were presented to him from the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, and the inhabitants. It must be admitted that the addresses were couched in terms so excessively flattering in reference to the recent military services of the Prince, as to have been scarcely palatable. The citizens represented themselves as having been greatly agitated, and as feeling the greatest anxiety lest His Royal Highness should be injured, and in allusion to his West Indian exploits they told him that like a great ancient warrior he came, he saw, he conquered. The florid style of the period must be accepted as an excuse for the ludicrously extravagant congratulations which were showered upon His Royal Highness on this occasion.

Here we will take the liberty of interrupting the narrative by referring to the loss of His Majesty's ship *La*

Tribune, which took place on the twenty third of November, 1797, a little to the south of Herring Cove, and which elicited the truly generous and beneficent qualities by which Prince Edward was distinguished.

La Tribune was one of the finest frigates in His Majesty's service, carrying forty-four guns, and had been lately captured by the *Unicorn* frigate. She was commanded by Captain S. Barker, and sailed from Torbay on the twenty-second of September, as convoy to the Quebec and Newfoundland fleets. She lost sight of the fleets on the nineteenth of October, and on Thursday morning, the twenty-third of November, came in sight of Halifax harbor, when Captain Barker proposed to the master to lay the ship to till a pilot was got. The master remarked that the wind was fair, and as he knew the harbor well no pilot was necessary. About twelve o'clock the ship had approached so near the Thrum cap shoals that the master became alarmed, and sent for Mr. Galvin, the master's mate, who was sick below. Galvin had just appeared on deck, not having time to observe the position of the ship, when she struck. The captain had gone below to look out some papers which he had intended to take ashore with him, and on the ship striking immediately went on deck. Signals of distress were made and answered by the military posts and the ships in the harbor. Boats from all the military posts, from His Majesty's ships and the dock yard proceeded to the relief of the *La Tribune*. Some of these reached the ship, but others had to return on account of the weather. The ship was immediately lightened by throwing all her guns overboard, so that at nine o'clock she got off the shoals. The chain pumps were put in action, and it was thought that she might be kept afloat. The gale now intensified, the wind blowing from the southeast. Her anchors were dropped but failed to bring her to, and she was fast driven towards the western shore. It was now ten o'clock,

and little hope was entertained of saving the ship or the lives of those on board of her. About half-past ten o'clock the ship lurched suddenly, and went down. Two hundred and forty men, and some women and children were now struggling for life in the water. With many of them the struggle was very short; a number clung to the shrouds, the tops and other parts of the wreck, but owing to the severity of the storm they one by one dropped off through exhaustion, and disappeared in the raging billows. The cries and groans of the unhappy sufferers, from the bruises many of them had received, and as hope of deliverance began to fail them, were heartrending. Although the wreck was so near to the shore that their cries could be distinctly heard, only eight persons survived to see the light of day.

The first effort made for their relief was by a boy thirteen years of age, who ventured off in a skiff by himself about eleven o'clock next day. After great labor the little hero succeeded in backing his boat so near that two men were thus saved. Two men named Dunlap and Munroe had preserved their strength and spirits. The others lay exhausted in the tops, being unable to move. Through great exertion Dunlap and Munroe got them into the boy's boat, and remained on the wreck themselves till succour came. The little boy bravely put to sea again, but on account of the heavy gale could not get sufficiently near to be of service. His example, however, shamed others with larger boats who put off, and thus the eight persons were rescued.

A quarter-master belonging to the ship, named McGregor, had his wife on board; they were a respectable couple, and greatly attached to each other. McGregor, from his affectionate solicitude for her safety, endeavored to persuade her while the ship lay on the shoals to go ashore in one of the boats which came off from the island, as his mind would be more at ease. To his solicitations she replied that she never

would abandon him, and that if it was his lot to perish she wished not to survive him. She shared the common fate. A considerable time after the ship had foundered, a man was discovered swimming towards the wreck. On his approaching it was found to be McGregor. He informed his comrades who were hanging to the wreck that he had swam towards the shore—that he had ventured as far as he could with safety into the surf, and found that if he went further he should be dashed in pieces, and he cautioned them all to avoid making a similar attempt, but if possible to hold by the wreck. He himself gained the main shrouds, and remained there till the mast gave way, and then met the same fate as his unfortunate consort, whose death he was continually deploring while on the shrouds.

"It is with pleasure," says the *Halifax Journal* of the time, "we notice the attention which has been paid to the widows and children of the unfortunate sufferers. His Royal Highness Prince Edward, with that generosity which has distingished him during his residence in this Province, directed immediate provision to be made for the bereaved families, and there is reason to hope that through the representations of His Royal Highness such provision shall be made as permanent as their sufferings. Actions like these dignify kings, and add splendor to the highest rank."

The editor considerately suggested that a subscription should be opened for the little fellow who bravely rescued the two men, which, it is to be hoped, was acted upon.

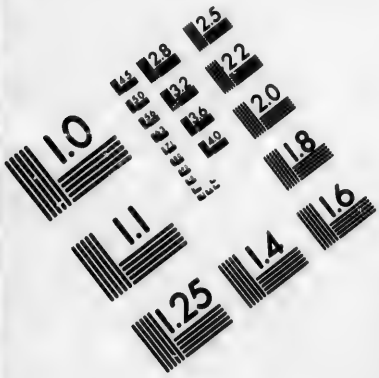
The residence of the Prince, as is well known, was on the west side of Bedford Basin, about six miles from Halifax, and was designated "The Lodge." The property had been bought by Governor Wentworth, who, during the summer months, resided there. The Prince improved it, and declared that as a residence he preferred it to any place out of England. Sam Slick has given a most graphic account of

the place as it appeared in his day, from which we give a short quotation: "As I approached the house I noticed that the windows were broken, or shut up with rough boards to exclude the rain and snow; the door supported by wooden props instead of hinges, which hung loosely on the panels, and that long luxuriant clover grew on the eaves, which had been originally designed to conduct the water from the roof, but becoming choked with dust and decayed leaves, had afforded sufficient food for the nourishment of coarse grasses. The portico, like the house, had been formed of wood, and the flat surface of its top imbibing and retaining moisture, presented a mass of vegetable matter, from which had sprung up a young and vigorous birch tree, where strength and freshness seemed to mock the helpless weakness that nourished it. I had no desire to enter the apartments, and, indeed, the aged ranger whose occupation was to watch over its decay, and to prevent its premature destruction by the plunder of the fixtures and more durable materials, informed me that the floors were unsafe. Altogether the scene was one of a most depressing kind. A small brook, which, by a skilful hand, had been led over several precipitous descents, performed its feats alone and unobserved, and seemed to murmur out its complaints, as it hurried over its rocky channel to mingle with the sea, while the weird sighing through the umbrageous wood, appeared to assume a louder and more melancholy wail, as it swept through the long vacant passages and deserted saloons, and escaped in plaintive tones from the broken casements. The offices and ornamental buildings had shared the same fate as the house, The roofs of all had fallen in, and mouldered into dust, the doors, sashes and floors had disappeared, and the walls, which were only in part built of stone, remained to attest their existence and use. The grounds exhibited similar effects of neglect, in a climate where the living wood grows so rapidly, and decays so soon as in Nova Scotia. An arbour

which had been constructed of lattice work, for the support of a flowering vine, had fallen and was covered with vegetation, while its roof alone remained, supported aloft by limbs of trees, that, growing up near it, had become entangled in its net work. A Chinese temple, once a favorite retreat of its owner, as in conscious pride of its preference, had offered a more successful resistance to the weather, and appeared in tolerable preservation, while one small surviving bell, of the numerous ones that once ornamented it, gave out its solitary and melancholy tinkling as it waived in the wind. How sad was its mimic knell over pleasures that were fled for ever."

Since the vivid description of the Clockmaker was written, the scene has undergone a great change. Every wooden vestige of the house and its appurtenances has disappeared, and nothing now remains but the bare foundation. On a small natural mound, so sharp in outline as to appear artificial, overhanging the margin of the basin, and about a hundred yards from the site of the house, stands what is called the round house, a small but elegant circular erection, with a dome, which was used by the military bands as they discoursed music to the gay circle at the lodge, and which is almost quite entire as it stood upwards of eighty years ago. The lodge property was sold some years ago to four or five gentlemen who subsequently disposed of it in small building lots. The associations connected with the locality render the property of permanant value, and nowhere on the peninsula is there a situation better adapted for marine residences.

In August, 1798, his Royal Highness in returning from a field day of the garrison, fell with his horse in one of the streets of the town, and sustained considerable injury. In conformity with medical advice he returned to England, and in the following year a bill was passed granting him his first parliamentary income of twelve thousand pounds



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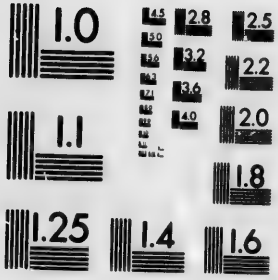

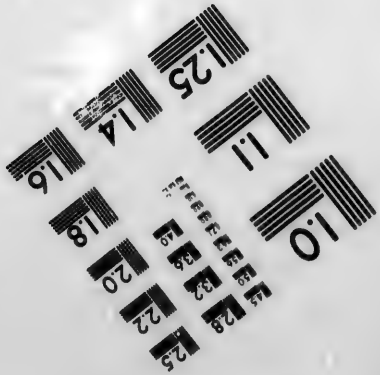

sterling per annum—his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, though four years younger receiving his parliamentary grant to the same amount on the same day. Prince William Henry, when in his twenty-fourth year was created Duke of Clarence; but not till Prince Edward had attained his thirty-third year was he created Duke of Kent.

A short time before the accident alluded to, the House of Assembly, on the motion of Mr. Uniacke, voted, besides an address, five hundred guineas for the purchase of a star to be presented to the Prince, in which vote the Council unanimously concurred. The star was accordingly presented by Charles Mary Wentworth, and Lawrence Hartshorne.

On the seventh of May, 1799, the Duke of Kent took his seat in the House of Lords, and on the seventeenth of the same month received the appointment of commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, for which he sailed in July, arriving in Halifax early in September, where he was received with every mark of honor and satisfaction. Before leaving England, he had ordered a new military equipment, which cost the sum of ten thousand pounds. The *Francis*, the vessel in which it was stowed, along with an extensive library and other valuable effects belonging to the Duke, was lost on Sable Island, when every soul on board perished. Mr. Copeland, the surgeon of the Prince's regiment, took charge of the property, and had his wife and children with him. There was a number of officers on board, the coachman and gardener to his Royal Highness, and nineteen hands, all of whom perished. It is a remarkable circumstance that the valuable equipment on board the *Francis* was the *seventh* which the Duke had lost in succession, either by being taken by French cruisers or by shipwreck.

The stay of the Duke in Halifax as commander-in-chief was of short duration, for in the autumn he was obliged to return to England on account of a severe bilious attack,

accompanied with alarming symptoms. The Lieutenant-Governor and Council presented a valedictory address on his final departure for England, in which they said that to his benevolence the indigent had owed their support, the tradesmen and mechanics employment, and the industrious of every description the means of reaping the recompense of their skill and diligence. In his reply, his Royal Highness said, that he should ever look back with a grateful remembrance to that part of his life which had been passed amongst them, and that the prosperity of Nova Scotia and its inhabitants was a circumstance to which he could at no time be indifferent.

The next appointment which the Duke received was the government of Gibralter. Mr. Addington was then Prime Minister. Drunkenness and insubordination were then prevalent amongst the troops at that notable stronghold. "This state of things," said the Premier to the Duke, "must be put down, and your Royal Highness is the man to do it. You may freely reckon on the fullest support from the Cabinet at home." On the tenth of May, 1802, the Duke arrived at Gibralter. He found the troops in a deplorable condition—much worse than he had anticipated. On the rock were at least ninety shops where intoxicating drinks were sold. Drunkenness was the rule, sobriety the exception. Crimes were common, and complaints as to the brutality of the soldiers loud and frequent. The Duke began a system of reformation. Though his own income was to a certain extent dependent upon licenses, he reduced the number of liquor shops to sixty, and subsequently to forty. He established within the barracks canteens where malt liquors only were sold, forbidding the troops under severe penalties to enter the liquor shops. In order to restore discipline and diminish crime he established a roll call at sunrise, a dress parade morning and evening, and fixed regular periods for drill and exercise. These efforts at reformation were

extremely distasteful, not only to the privates, but also to some of the officers, and the withdrawal of so many of the licenses excited the rage of the spirit dealers. The consequence was that some of the troops, when under the influence of liquor, were instigated to mutiny, and that in its suppression a few lives were lost, and not a few of the mutineers wounded. In these trying circumstances the Duke acted with firmness, courage and humanity, but his enemies having made false representations to the military authorities in England, he was recalled. On his arrival in London, he insisted on a court martial, but his request was peremptorily refused. The Prince of Wales made no secret of his conviction that his brother was deeply and intolerably injured. "You send a man," he said to the Premier, "out to control a garrison all but in a state of mutiny. You tell him to terminate such a disgraceful state of things. You assure him of the unqualified support of government in his undertaking. He goes out. He finds matters infinitely worse than they were represented. The impending outbreak occurs. He quells it thoroughly. By way of reward you disgrace him. If you wish to deter an officer from doing his duty, or desire to encourage a mutinous soldier, your tactics are admirable. They cannot fail to attain such a result. Edward may well complain. He were neither officer nor man if he were silent." How did the people in Gibralter regard the conduct of the Duke? In spite of the military authorities they sent to the military secretary of the Duke one thousand guineas for the purchase of a memento of their appreciation of his Royal Highness, which was expended in the purchase of a diamond garter to correspond with the star voted him by the Nova Scotia Assembly.

The Duke applied to Mr. Pitt for compensation for the heavy loss he had sustained by the capture or destruction at sea of so many successive equipments, and the amount of Parliamentary allowance which he ought to have received

during his absence on military service. The great commoner promised redress, but died without taking measures for its attainment.

When the question of Catholic Emancipation was discussed in the House of Lords in July, 1812, and a motion was brought forward by the Marquis Wellesley pledging the House early to emancipate the Roman Catholics, he supported the motion, avowing his persuasion that the removal of disabilities would be the first general measure by which the amelioration of Ireland could be effected. He also became patron of the British and Foreign School Society, the Anti-Slavery Society, the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, and also supported the Bible Society.

On the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, without issue, the Duke is said to have been urged by Queen Charlotte to pay his addresses to the sister of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg. She had been married to the Prince Leinengen, who was twenty-eight years her senior, and was now a widow, with a son and daughter. On the twenty-eighth of May they were married at Cobourg, and continued to reside at Amorbach, the residence of the Prince Leinengen. The Duchess being now about to be confined, it was necessary to remove to England, but they were prevented till within a few weeks of the Duchess' confinement, through want of means to meet the expenses of the journey. All applications for relief from Parliament having failed, the Duke had devoted the half of his income to pay his creditors, and was thus in comparatively poor circumstances. His marriage expenses had been necessarily heavy, and absorbed all his available money. Receiving, however, temporary relief from untitled friends in England, he and the Duchess arrived there in due time, and the Princess Victoria—now Queen of England—was born at Kensington on the twenty-fourth of May, 1819. In January following the Duke, in taking a long walk with Captain Conroy, got his feet thoroughly wet,

and, failing to change his boots and stockings, was seized with inflammation of the lungs, and died on the twenty-third of the month. He was perfectly conscious of his approaching death, executed his will, and departed in the hope of forgiveness through the merits of Christ.

Her present Majesty, then an infant, was at the funeral. The first carriage contained the infant Princess, a most lovely child, eight months old on the day of her father's death. She was placed, it seemed, by her nurse, against the carriage window, to gratify the spectators; she looked round upon them with her open cheerful countenance, playing her little hand against the glass, unconscious of her loss—the sight caused many a tear to flow.*

Sir John Hervey had addressed a letter to Judge Sir Brenton Halliburton of Nova Scotia, in the year 1849, requesting information respecting the general character of the Duke of Kent, under whom he performed military service in Halifax, and who was consequently well known to him. The judge, in responding said, referring to the occasion of his assuming the command of the troops in Nova Scotia in 1794: "At the time of his arrival the habits of the garrison were very dissipated. The dissipation was not, indeed, confined to the military; the civil society partook of it largely. It was no unusual thing to see gentlemen join a company of ladies in a state of intoxication, which would now be deemed very disgraceful, but which was then merely laughed at by the ladies themselves. His Royal Highness at once discountenanced such conduct. Among the military he soon put an end to it by parading the troops every morning at five o'clock; and as he always attended himself, no officer could, of course, feel it a hardship to do so. The improvement which thus soon took place among the military gradually extended to their civil acquaintances;

* Private letter from Sidmouth.

and His Royal Highness thus became instrumental in improving both. Gambling also prevailed to a great extent, but His Royal Highness never touched a card, and as the early parades compelled its former military votaries to retire early to bed, gambling, as well as drinking, fell into disuse."

"I must mention a circumstance which occurred at this period, which interested many at the time. A very kind-hearted captain of a regiment had been sent to Newfoundland to recruit. He was not well calculated for that service, and in the hands of an artful sergeant, had returned much in arrears to the paymaster. He was an amiable but easy-going man, and a few days after his return, he dined at a party where cards were introduced in the evening. He had never been in the habit of playing, but was easily prevailed upon to join the party; and by one of those runs of good luck by which the tempter seduces novices, bore off all the money of the evening. It was a sum quite sufficient to relieve him from his difficulties. His great luck was the engrossing subject of conversation throughout the following day. But of course, said the losers, McDonald will give us a chance of winning our money back again, when we meet at Esten's on the next Thursday evening. Everybody knew that Mr. McDonald would be easily persuaded to do so, and his friends feared he might become a confirmed gambler. His Royal Highness heard of it; sent for him, and after conversing with him very seriously and kindly, said: 'Mr. McDonald you have never been in the habit of playing; these gentlemen requested you to play, and if, by complying with their request, you have won their money, it is much better that they should bear the loss than that you, from a false notion of honor, should run the risk of acquiring a bad habit. I request that you will give me a positive pledge on honor that you will not again play at games of chance. McDonald did so. The Prince made it public. Of

course, after that no gentleman could solicit McDonald to play, and as he was not inclined himself to do so, he escaped the snare in which, had it not been for His Royal Highness' friendly interference, his good luck might ultimately have entangled him. Poor, kind-hearted McDonald! He fell a victim to the climate in the West Indies not long afterwards."

"His Royal Highness' discipline was strict, almost to severity. I am sure he acted from principle, but I think he was somewhat mistaken in supposing such undeviating exactitude essential to good order. Off the parade he was an affable prince and polished gentleman. At his table every one felt at ease, but while it was evidently his object to make them so, his dignified manner precluded the possibility of any liberty being taken by the most forward."

"I cannot close without mentioning his benevolence to the distressed. A tale of woe always interested him deeply, and nothing but gross misconduct could ever induce him to abandon any whom he had once been induced to befriend. I have much pleasure in recalling these recollections of His Royal Highness, under whom I served for many years, and from whom I received very great kindness."

As a friend to education the Duke rendered himself famous. He was the first military commander who established regimental schools. He began with his own regiment, the school connected with it being attended by two hundred and twenty pupils—children of the privates. It is impossible to estimate the amount of good of which his example in this respect has been productive.

Dr. W. J. Anderson, President of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, has rendered a valuable service to literature by the publication, in 1870, of the correspondence of the Duke with the de Salaberry family, extending from 1791 to 1814. A clear insight into the character of the Duke is obtained by a perusal of that correspondence, which was

carried on in the full confidence of private friendship, and evidently without the remotest idea of publication. Hence, as an index to character, the letters are invaluable.

Louis Ignace de Salaberry was the son of Michel de Salaberry, who arrived in Quebec in 1735, in command of the French frigate L'Anglesea, and who, on the cession of Canada, transferred his allegiance to Great Britain. Captain de Salaberry brought up his son Louis to the military profession. The latter accordingly entered the British service, and took an active part in the American war, having been wounded several times in bravely discharging his duty as an officer. On the conclusion of the war de Salaberry retired on a lieutenant's pension, and on the arrival of the Duke of Kent, by some mutual affinity, they became more than ordinarily attached friends. De Salaberry was married, and had children in whose society the Duke took great delight. Subsequently, as the boys grew up, his influence was directed in advancing them in the military profession, and the voluminous correspondence between the Duke and the father of the family is highly creditable to the head and heart of His Royal Highness—many of the letters published by Dr. Anderson having been written from Halifax during the period of the Duke's residence there. We give one as a specimen:—

"HALIFAX, 2nd July, 1796.

"My dear Mr. de Salaberry,—As I intend to leave to-morrow to visit the posts of Windsor and Annapolis, I did not intend to reply to your letter of the twenty-eighth May till my return, but the unexpected arrival of your son here, yesterday morning, in seventeen days from Dominica, offers me a most interesting opportunity which I cannot permit to pass without communicating the news.

"It appears that General Abercromby, not having received any other order in regard to your son, but that announcing his removal from the sixtieth to my regiment, judged it right

to order him to report himself here without delay. In consequence he had no choice but to obey this order. My intention now is to let him remain with my regiment while awaiting the reply from London to the several letters which I have written to my brother, explaining to him that it would not be for the interest of our young protegé now to exchange into my regiment. I imagine that the June packet, which we expect at the end of the month, will enable us to speak decidedly of his position, and consequently to determine what will be best for him to do. In any case be assured that whatever decision may be arrived at, his interests will not suffer. I shall wait a little, and bye-and-bye write to my brother, who desires nothing more ardently than to do strict justice to every officer, and who will most cordially remedy any little thing that has gone wrong for the moment with your son. If he has replaced him in the lieutenancy of the sixtieth, you may rest content under the firm assurance that nothing could have happened more fortunately for your son than his having received from the Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies the order to come here. He is now in perfect health, though he says he suffered much from fever at Dominica. He is tall, being, I think, nearly five feet eight inches; he is well formed, and his manners are very good; he speaks English thoroughly, and writes I believe as well. Everybody gives him the best possible character in every respect, and your old friend Governor Hamilton of Dominica, in particular, has written me a letter very much to his credit, which I believe you will be very much pleased to read, consequently I enclose it, but I beg of you to return it by next mail.

When I shall have returned from my journey I intend to write to General Prescott as soon as I shall know of his actual arrival at Quebec, and it will not be necessary for me, I believe, to repeat that it is my intention to write him most strongly as respects yourself.

Your son himself having written, I have nothing to add on the subject, but to say that should an opportunity present itself I shall avail myself of it to send him to you for some days during the coming summer. He is now staying with us for want of better quarters; this has given me great pleasure, it having offered an opportunity to show attention to the son of those who were so kind and hospitable at Beaufort.

I now beg you to present my compliments to Madam de Salaberry, and the rest of the family, but to Amelia in particular. I am very sensible of the compliments of Abbé Lazelle, pray assure him of my esteem, as for yourself,

I always, &c.,

Edward.

"Madam St. Laurent has no time to write by this mail, being engaged in preparations for our journey: she proposes to make amends on our return. We propose to be absent nine or ten days."

The three younger de Salaberrys—Maurice, Louis and Edward, died prematurely—the latter having fallen at the storming of Badajos, in the year 1812. On the day that he fell, he left the following note for the Duke of Kent:—"I am ordered to storm one of the breaches this evening. As the service is rather dangerous I beg leave to assure your Royal Highness, as well as Madame, that whatever may happen to me, I shall at every moment feel how much I am indebted to you. Believe me, sir, that my last moments shall be to wish you all the happiness which you, as well as Madame, eminently deserve."

We have dwelt on the excellencies of the Duke—his manliness, his truthfulness, his courage, his kind-heartedness and his public spirit. Were there no defects in so fair a character? To say no, would be to represent him as more than human. The only shade that dims the lustre of his memory was his connection with one whom he mentions in almost all his letters to the de Salaberrys as *his friend*, and

who lived with him for a quarter of a century—retiring, on his marriage, to a convent—Madame de St. Laurent, Baronne Fortisson.

The elder Salaberry was a fine character. He lived till he had attained his seventy-sixth year, his wife having died four years before him. One of the sons, Colonel Charles de Salaberry attained to military distinction, his services, however, were not sufficiently rewarded. He died when he was fifty-one years of age.

Amelia de Salaberry, whom the Duke specially mentions, never married, and lived, as Dr. Anderson informs us, at the family mansion at Beauport to an advanced age, having died there in October, 1861. "Her numerous friends"—says a notice which appeared in the public press at the time of her decease—"were fascinated with the grace with which she received them, the interest and polish of her conversation, and with the simplicity of her manners. Her hand and heart were open as the day. Her kind words, and the prudent advice and assistance, always accorded, rendered her especially dear to the poor."

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of Maroons in Halifax—Their history—Cudjoe, Chief of the Maroons—His submission to British authority—Rebellion of the Maroons—Death of Colonel Fitch—Mission of Colonel Quarrell to Havannah—The Chasseurs del Rey and their dogs—Surrender of the Maroons to General Walpole—Their transportation to Halifax—They settle in Preston—Resolution of the Jamaica House of Assembly respecting the support of the Maroons—Their letter to W. D. Quarrell—Their removal to Sierra Leone—Their character—Appearance—Language—Social habits—Their return to Jamaica—The Administration of Sir John Wentworth—His hostility towards Collenham Tonge—He is superseded by Sir George Prevost as Lieutenant-Governor—Sir George takes a tour through the Province—Laying the foundation stone of the Province Building—Sir John Coape Sherbrooke succeeds as Lieutenant-Governor—Declaration of war between Great Britain and the United States—Money voted by the Assembly for general defences—Captain Broke of the frigate *Shannon*—He sails from Halifax for Boston—Challenges the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake*—The contest—Narrow escape of Captain Broke—Capture of the *Chesapeake*, and death of Captain Laurence—Arrival of the vessels at Halifax—Burial of Captain Laurence and the first lieutenant of the *Chesapeake*—Captain Broke receives a baronetcy, and retires from the service—His death—Opinion of the American Court of Investigation as to the causes of the capture of the *Chesapeake*—Conclusion of the war by the Treaty of Ghent—Termination of the war between France and Great Britain—Celebration of the event in Halifax—Governor Sherbrooke appointed Governor-in-Chief of the British North American Provinces—His departure—Is succeeded by the Earl of Dalhousie.

In the year 1796, about five hundred Maroons arrived in Halifax, and having remained in the Province for four years, the introduction here of a few facts respecting their history may not be deemed irrelevant.

On Jamaica being conquered by the English in the year 1655, most of the Spanish inhabitants removed to Cuba. Many of the slaves disinclined to leave the island fled to the woods, lived by plunder, and were designated Maroon or hog hunters. For some years they continued to harass the planters in small parties, but subsequently the different bands united under a leader called Cudjoe—a man of great courage and sagacity. Some years had now elapsed since Cudjoe had assumed command of the Maroons. All attempts to subdue them having failed, and as their depredations were becoming more and more daring and intolerable, it was determined to make a more systematic effort to conquer them. It was prudently resolved, however, by the Governor of the island before proceeding to extremities to offer them terms of peace.

Colonel Guthrie of the Militia, and Captain Sadler of the Regulars were accordingly deputed to open a communication with Cudjoe. The glens or recesses to which the Maroons had retired were called, in West Indian phrase, cockpits. The passages into these glens were extremely narrow. Ledges of rock, in which there were numerous crevices, lined the defiles which afforded protection to the Maroons, and completely screened them from the observation and fire of an attacking force. These glens or cockpits extended in a line, which enabled the negroes when driven from one to betake themselves to another, possibly more difficult of access. Colonel Guthrie having conveyed intelligence to Cudjoe of his approach, in order to propose terms of peace, advanced with a large force through a passage where his men might have been subjected to a galling fire, without being able to return one effective shot, had the Maroons been disposed to prevent his approach. At length the smoke of the huts was seen, but none of the Maroons were visible, their proximity being only determined by the sound of their horns. When sufficiently near to their huts to be heard,

Colonel Guthrie called in a loud tone that he had come to treat of peace and offer them fair and honorable terms. An answer was returned that the Maroons wished the same. Dr. Russell then advanced, and was met by two Maroons, whom he asked if either of them was Cudjoe. They replied in the negative, but said that if he would stay a little while, and no soldiers followed him, Cudjoe would make his appearance. Several Maroons now approached and among them the renowned chief. He was of low stature, uncommonly stout, with strong African features, and a peculiar wildness in his manner. He had a hump on his back, which was partly covered with the tattered remains of a blue coat of which the skirts, and the sleeves below the elbow, were wanting. He wore a pair of loose drawers that did not reach his knees, and a small round hat without a rim. On his right side hung a cow's horn with powder, and a bag of cut slugs. He wore no shirt, and his clothes as well as that part of his skin that was exposed, were covered with the red dirt of the cockpits. His men were as dirty as himself—all having guns and cutlasses. In conversing with Dr. Russell, the chief of the Maroons kept his eyes on the soldiers in the distance, evidently fearing treachery. Dr. Russell now proposed to change hats with him as a token of friendship, to which he consented, when Colonel Guthrie called aloud to him assuring him that the terms offered by Dr. Russell would be strictly adhered to. The Colonel and some of the officers now approached unarmed, when Cudjoe threw himself on the ground and asked pardon. A treaty was then concluded, by which it was provided that Captain Cudjoe and his officers and men should be in a state of freedom, that certain lands should belong to them, and that in return for these advantages Cudjoe and his men should assist in operations for the suppression of rebellions in the island, or in repelling any attack which might be made by the King's enemies.

For fifty years the Maroons continued to live peaceably,

but in the year 1795, on various pretexts, they broke out in open rebellion. They complained that some of their people had been punished, by whipping administered by a slave,—that the land granted to them was worn out, and that a superintendent who was popular amongst them had been removed to give place to one who was incompetent. Negotiations for a settlement of the points in dispute were opened, but failed in securing it. The Maroons retired to their fastnesses, and war began. It was resolved to confine the Maroons in a circle and close in upon them, and operations were being carried on for that purpose, under the command of Colonel Fitch. This gallant officer fell under a volley from the Maroons, emanating from one of the ledges described, when looking out for a favorable situation for an advanced military post. His death threw a gloom over the whole island, and led to forebodings respecting the issue of so singular a contest, in which many valuable lives had been already lost without any advantage resulting. But a casual conversation between a British officer and an intelligent Spaniard, led to the adoption of means by which the war was speedily terminated. Colonel Quarrell having been obliged to repair from the seat of war to the sea shore to recruit his health, met the gentleman referred to, who related the following incident. Some years ago when the British abandoned the Musquito shore to the Spaniards, the latter found the native Indians hostile. They attempted in vain to take possession of the country by means of a military force. In the course of a few months they lost, from surprises and ambushes, nearly three regiments, when they imported from Cuba thirty-six dogs and twelve chasseurs, and by means of these they expelled the Indians from the territory. Colonel Quarrell lost no time in communicating with the Government of the island respecting a mode of attack, with the importance of which he was at once deeply impressed, proposing that a body of chasseurs should be employed. The suggestion was

adopted without hesitation, and the Colonel was commissioned to proceed to Havannah to purchase dogs, and procure the services of their trainers the Chasseurs. The dogs were so broken in that they did not kill the object of their pursuit unless resisted. On coming up to him they barked furiously till he halted, and then crouched near him, barking till their keepers came up and secured their prisoner. In the event of resistance their ferocity was extreme, and the life of their victim was in imminent danger. The Colonel having succeeded in his mission returned to Jamaica.* The report of the arrival of the dogs struck terror into the Maroons, but it was resolved before using them, to give them an opportunity of treating for peace, of which they were glad to avail themselves. They accordingly surrendered to General Walpole, who agreed to a secret article that they should not be banished from the island. On learning that the transportation of the Maroons was in contemplation, the General expostulated with Lord Balcarres on the subject, stating that if the terms of surrender were not honorably adhered to, he would resign his command. On the plea that the Maroons

*The Chasseurs and their dogs were employed in traversing the country for the purpose of pursuing and taking up all persons guilty of murder and other offences, in which they seldom failed of success, no activity on the part of the offenders being sufficient to elude their pursuit. An extraordinary instance occurred about a month before Colonel Quarrell arrived at Havannah. A fleet from Jamaica, under convoy to Great Britain, passing through the Gulf of Mexico, beat up on the north side of Cuba. One of the ships, manned with foreigners, chiefly renegade Spaniards, being a slow sailor, and consequently lagging astern, standing in with the land at night, was run on shore, the captain, officers, and the few British hands on board murdered, and the vessel plundered by the Spanish renegadoes. The part of the coast on which the vessel was stranded being wild and unfrequented, the assassins retired with their booty to the mountains, intending to penetrate through the woods to some remote settlement on the south side, where they hoped to secure themselves and elude all pursuit. Early intelligence of the crime had, however, been conveyed to Havannah, and the assassins were pursued by a detachment of twelve of the Chasseurs with their dogs. In a few days the assassins were all brought in and executed.

had not strictly adhered to the terms, their transportation was determined on, and the General with a commendable sense of honor, deeming the grounds of departure from his solemn obligation insufficient, not only resigned his appointment, but refused a sword voted to him by the Assembly in acknowledgment of his services.

It was resolved to send the Maroons, to the number of about five hundred, to Halifax, there to await His Majesty's orders, which might be expected in a fortnight after their arrival. During the passage they conducted themselves with the utmost propriety, and, on their arrival, were visited by Prince Edward, who expressed himself highly pleased with their appearance. The Prince suggested that, during their stay at Halifax, they should be landed and employed in erecting fortifications on the citadel hill. The Maroons readily acceded to this proposal, and occupied wooden shanties and tents on the citadel ground. They were so industrious and well behaved that it was thought they might settle permanently in the Province, with advantage to themselves and benefit to the country. The Home Government having approved the proposal, the township of Preston was allotted to them, to which, before the approach of winter, they removed. A Protestant minister was appointed to instruct them in religion, and a teacher to attend to the young. The winter was severe, and they suffered from cold, and having no employment for some months, they became discontented, and expressed the desire to remove to a warmer climate. On the return of spring, the Maroons were most reluctant to resume work, when they were told that if they persisted in refusing to work, all supplies would be withdrawn. They therefore prudently yielded to necessity, and resumed labor. Hitherto the Assembly of Jamaica voted money for their support, and on application for a further sum, a Committee made the following report:

"It appears to the Committee from the accounts of

William James Quarrell, Esquire, and from the information collected from the Receiver-General of this Island, that the sum of forty-one thousand pounds, granted at various times for the comfortable subsistence of the Maroons, will not be more than sufficient to defray the expenses incurred in that service previous to the twenty-second of July, 1797, and that a further grant will be necessary to make good the intention of the House to allow ten pounds sterling for the year ending on the twenty-second July, 1798, for each man, woman and child."

"The Committee therefore recommend to the House to grant the further sum of six thousand pounds sterling for that purpose, and to come to a final resolution not to make any other grants for the future support of the Maroons."

The ensuing winter proved almost as rigorous as the previous. The fall of snow was very heavy, but the Maroons were housed, fed and kept warm, and had nothing to do but play cards.

In the spring of 1799, the Commissary-General, who had accompanied them from Jamaica, and to whom they were much attached, left for the Island, where the following address was sent to him by the Maroons:

"To W. D. Quarrell, Esq.,

"Sir,—The Maroons hearing that you are shortly to leave the country, the undersigned for themselves and in behalf of the whole body, beg leave to assure you of their unfeigned sorrow for the necessity of your departure. They beg leave to assure you, in the sincerest terms of gratitude, of the kind regard they shall ever pay to your memory for the great care and attention you paid to all their wants and interests during the time you had the management of their affairs, and since that time for the very friendly asylum they always experienced at your home in Dartmouth, which rendered their situation as comfortable as could be for people in their unfortunate condition. They humbly beg you will lay before the House of Assembly, in Jamaica, their present

distress, their contrition, and sorrow for their past offences to their much injured country, and acknowledge the justice of the sentence of banishment passed upon them, but they entreat the House of Assembly in the most suppliant terms, that they may be removed to some other country more congenial to people of their complexion. The length and severity of the two last winters have been such as almost to drive them to despair. They appeal to yourself and Dr. Oxley, who have been daily witnesses of their conduct, if they have not at all times behaved themselves in an honest, peaceable and orderly manner towards every one. It is likewise with extreme pain and mortification that they see immense expenses incurred without the least tendency to promote their happiness or comfort, of which they conceive the Government and Island are not sufficiently apprized. If the House of Assembly will have the goodness to take this into consideration, they beg leave to assure them in the most solemn manner, they will be perfectly satisfied to live on half the allowance they at present enjoy and strenuously endeavor to provide for themselves within as short a time as possible, build their own homes, and put the Island to as small an expense as possible. This they humbly conceive might be accomplished for less money than the Island may be aware of by a sale of their property here. If the House of Assembly has the goodness to take compassion on their sufferings, they fervently hope you will return to them. Having already experienced your kindness on all occasions, it would encourage them to surmount every difficulty. God bless you, Sir; wishing you a safe passage, and that you may live long and happy, is the sincere prayer of all the Maroons.

"Signed by two colonels, a major, and five captains."*

Governor Wentworth—now a baronet—and the people of

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* Military rank retained by the Maroons after their surrender.

Nova Scotia were now desirous of getting quit of the Maroons. From the Assembly of Jamaica no further supplies could be expected, and they were likely to become a serious burden to the Province. The Home Government was of opinion that the Island was clearly bound in honor to relieve Nova Scotia of all pecuniary responsibility in regard to them, but the Assembly was resolute in the determination to ignore further responsibility. It was, therefore determined by the British Government to remove the Maroons to Sierra Leone. To that settlement a number of negro loyalists had been removed from Nova Scotia eight years previously, and proving so extremely turbulent as to endanger the existence of the colony, the Sierra Leone Company, thinking that the importation of the Maroons would serve to keep them in check, consented to receive the Maroons on the condition that the expenses of their settlement should be borne by the British Government. They accordingly embarked in the autumn of the year 1800, and arrived in Sierra Leone in the month of October. On their arrival, what were called the Nova Scotia-blacks were in open rebellion. The Maroons proved faithful, and fought so bravely in support of British Authority that the rebellion was speedily extinguished. The following quotation from a report, made in the year 1802, by a Committee of the House of Commons, throws light on the character of the Maroons after they left Nova Scotia:—"The Nova Scotians—(the colored immigrants)—are much awed by the Maroons, and look up to the Europeans for protection. The Maroons are active and intrepid, prodigal of their lives, confident of their strength, proud of the character of their body, and fond, though not jealous of their independence. They usually harbor a desire of going back at some period of their lives to Jamaica, and therefore may with more difficulty be induced, by prospects of future benefit, to labor for the improvement of their habitations or plantations. These circumstances render them a

people not easy to be governed, and to be brought into that state of society which would best promote the civilization of Africa. The suppression of polygamy among them has been hitherto deemed an experiment too hazardous to be tried, and no fair opportunities have yet occurred of ascertaining how far they will submit quietly to such restraints of the civil power as are most repugnant to their inclinations and habits. But there are favorable points in their character. Though they do not desire instruction for themselves, they are glad to have it communicated to their children, who appear to possess very good capacities. They have no jealousy of Europeans; on the contrary, they appear to be cordially attached to them, and wish to see an increase of the number of white colonists. They are generally disposed to labor for hire. Many of them have a great desire to acquire a knowledge of handicraft trades; and some of them, who have turned their attention to such trades since their arrival at Sierra Leone, have become far more expert workmen than could have been expected. This desire will probably be the stronger in their children, who will be brought up in habits very different from those which were formed and confirmed in their parents by their situation in Jamaica."

We cannot quit this part of our subject without referring to the general character and social habits of this remarkable race. The person and port of the Maroons indicated a consciousness of superiority. Their eyes were peculiarly fiery and expressive, the white of them being a little reddened, probably by the smoke of their fires. By their horns they could call any one as if by name, and convey any number of signals. This need excite no surprise when we find telegraphic operations carried on in our day by sound, as accurately as if by written communication.

Their language was a peculiar dialect of English mixed with African words, but they understood the English language sufficiently to receive instruction in it. They

had no particular form of worship, but like their forefathers believed that Accompong was the God of heaven, the creator of all things, and a God of infinite goodness.

Their marriages were attended with no religious or judicial ceremonies—simple consent of the woman to live with the man being sufficient; plurality of wives was allowed, but few had more than two. When a man made a present to one of his wives he was bound to make a similar one to the others. Each wife lived in turn with her husband two days, and the children of the different women were only noticed by the father on the days that the respective mothers lived with him. When the Maroon was instructed in the doctrines of Christianity he was informed, that as a Christian, he could only have one wife. This doctrine having been taught to a Maroon who had two wives, both of whom he respected, if not loved, he reasoned thus,—"Top, massa governor," said he; "Top lilly bit; you say me mus forsake my wife. Only one of them. Which that one? Jesus Christ say so? Gar A'mighty say so? No, no, massa; Gar A'mighty good; he tell somebody he mus forsake him wife and children. Somebody no wicked for forsake him wife? No, massa; dis here talk no do for me." In other language thus :—"Stay, sir;" said the Maroon. "Stay a little. You tell me that I must forsake my wife. Only one of them; and which shall that be? Does Jesus Christ say so? Does God say so? No, no, sir; God is good, and allows no one to forsake his wife and children. He who forsakes his wife must be a wicked man. This is a doctrine, sir, not suited to us."

We may be permitted to say that in the case of a man married to two wives, according to the usage of his country, and having a family by both, it is doubtful whether, in the event of his conversion to Christianity, it would be his duty to put one of them away against her will. Whilst the Christian law is clear and explicit as to marriage among

Christians, it is not so in reference to connections previously formed; and as in the case of a Christian man or woman united to one who is not a Christian, severance is not allowable except by mutual consent, so in the case of a plurality of wives, it is not by any means clear that a forced separation is demanded by Christian principle. The reasoning of the Maroon was perfectly natural, and it would be dificult to prove that it was not also scriptural.

When a girl arrived at an age that she might marry, her parents made a feast—killing a hog—to which the neighbors were invited. This feast was a signal to the young men to make an offer of marriage, but the girl not unfrequently preferred a state of celibacy for a few years after she was known to have "killed hog"—a phrase, the meaning of which was perfectly understood.

The Maroons continued to maintain the good character given them by the committee of the House of Commons, but their determination to return to Jamaica continued unabated. In the year 1836, they had increased to six hundred and eighty-one souls, and in the following five years they returned to Jamaica, leaving only in the year 1841 seventy of their number in Sierra Leone.

During the administration of Sir John Wentworth, the Province prospered in all its principal interests, and he seems to have discharged his duties with general fidelity and diligence. But his treatment of Mr. Collenham Tongo, a lawyer of more than ordinary ability, who took a prominent part in public affairs, indicated a vindictiveness of disposition which sadly marred his gubernatorial character. For a number of years he did not cease, in his despatches to the Home Government, to make charges against Mr. Tongo, who probably lived in perfect ignorance of their having been preferred, and who consequently had no opportunity of replying to them. He was represented as unduly protracting the Session, as in his office as speaker opposing the

king's interests, and of spreading discontent amongst His Majesty's subjects. The charges were of the most vague and general description, and unsupported by any kind of evidence. Little attention seems to have been paid to them by the Home Authorities—the bitterness and frequency with which they were preferred indicating a degree of personal hostility towards Tonge, which must have divested them of all weight. On the re-election of Tonge as speaker, in 1806, the Governor availed himself of a prerogative which had not been previously exercised in the Province, by refusing to confirm the choice of the Assembly, and another speaker was accordingly elected. The efforts of the Governor to ruin Tonge as a public man proved futile, for his commanding influence both in the House and country remained undiminished. Sir John was an extreme conservative—a determined enemy to public meetings of any kind, and exerted himself to put them down. Notwithstanding his glaring failings he was respected, and on his being superceded in the year 1808, by Sir George Prevost, as Lieutenant-Governor, the Assembly voted him five hundred pounds a year as retiring allowance, to which an other five hundred were added by the Home Government.

On the arrival of Sir George Prevost, to assume the government of the Province, hostilities between the United States and Great Britain were imminent. Sir George, in order to make himself acquainted with the condition of the Province made a tour through it, and on his return communicated to the House of Assembly the result of his observations. He stated that he found much on which to congratulate the Assembly, that he was now able fully to estimate the effects of the embargo laid by the United States government on trade, that the manner in which the restrictions on trade were carried out left no doubt as to the real object intended to be accomplished by them. The project had, however, entirely failed, and the British nation

had derived sufficient experience from the measure, to be convinced that their colonies and commerce could be as little affected by the embargo of America as by the blockading decrees of France. New sources had been resorted to with success to supply the deficiencies produced by so sudden an interruption to commerce, and the great increase in the imports and exports of Nova Scotia proved that the embargo was a measure well adapted to promote the true interests of His Majesty's North American colonies. The abundant crop of every kind with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless the Province, the improvement in agriculture and the fisheries, and the considerable supply of timber which had been sent to the old country, the augmentation of the revenue, and above all, the great sense which the people of the country entertained of the happiness enjoyed under His Majesty's truly paternal government, afforded ample cause of congratulation, and presented unquestionable proofs of the prosperity and rapid increase of the Province.

It was under the administrateon of Sir George Prevost that the foundation stone of the Province building was laid. On the twelfth of August, 1811, the day on which this interesting ceremony took place, the birth day of the Prince of Wales was celebrated. At noon there was a review of the garrison, and at one o'clock a levée at Government House. A body of militia assembled on the ground on which the Province building now stands—the Free Masons having turned out in force under their grand master, Mr. Pyke. After prayer by the Rev. Archibald Gray, D.D., the foundation stone was laid by Sir George Prevost; coins, and a written document having been deposited in a cavity prepared for them—Sir George said: "May the building which shall arise from this foundation perpetuate the loyalty and liberality of Nova Scotia." Sir George seems, however, to have been somewhat doubtful of the loyalty of the Province, for in addressing the Home Government, he

had expressed the opinion, "that her ties to the parent State were those of necessity and convenience rather than of gratitude and affection." No statement could be more unfounded. In all the proceedings of Assembly from the settlement of the Province down to the period at which these lines are being traced, the most censorious critic will fail to discern the slightest evidence for the charge. Sir George and his predecessor found the Assembly jealous of its rights, and the opposition which was not unfrequently offered to the decrees of Council, produced a degree of irritation which led to unjust representations as to the motives and acts of the Assembly.

Sir George having been appointed to the Governorship of Canada, he was succeeded in the year 1811 by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, K.B., who arrived in Halifax on the sixteenth of October. In June following, war—for which active preparations had been making in the Province—was declared by the United States. On the twenty-eighth, intelligence of the declaration reached Halifax. In consequence of the war the Assembly met on the twenty-first of July. Eight thousand pounds were voted for block-houses, twenty-two thousand for militia, and measures were also taken to borrow thirty thousand pounds for general defences. Letters of marque, and commissions to privateers were granted by the Governor. Numerous captures were made at sea both by the British and American privateers, not a few of the prizes of the former having been brought to Halifax, where trade was temporarily increased by the war. In the contests that took place between individual ships, the Americans, as a rule, had the advantage, as their vessels generally carried heavier metal, and were more numerously manned. The Americans were elated with their success while the British were annoyed. Captain Broke, who had been trained in the navy from boyhood, had been appointed to the command of the frigate *Shannon*

of thirty-eight guns, in the year 1806. She had been first sent for the protection of the whale fishery on the Greenland and Spitzbergen coasts, and was subsequently engaged in the reduction of Madeira. For some time after she had been connected with the channel fleet, from which, in the year 1811, she was detached on North American service. The feelings of Captain Broke, at this time, were pertinently expressed in a letter to his wife, in which he said: "We must catch one of these great American ships to send her home for a show that people may see what a creature it is, and that our frigates have fought very well though so unlucky." Ever since the gallant captain had joined the *Shannon*, he was resolved, by assiduous gun practice, to make up, in the event of a naval duel with a more powerful antagonist, for weight of metal by rapidity and accuracy of fire. Every day for about an hour and a half in the forenoon, when not prevented by the state of the weather, the men were exercised at the guns, and for the same time in the afternoon in the use of the broad sword, pike, musket, &c. Twice a week the crew fired at targets, both with great guns and musketry, and Captain Broke, as an additional stimulus, gave a pound of tobacco to every man who put a shot through the bull's eye. In the *Shannon* there was a place for everything and everything in its place—a post for every man and every man at his post. She was always clear for action, and had on deck a sufficient quantity of ammunition for two or three broadsides. Her captain had brought the officers and crew to the highest point of training, and had infused into them a portion of the liquid fire of his own enthusiasm.

On the twenty-first day of March, 1813, the *Shannon* sailed from Halifax, accompanied by a sister frigate the *Tenedos*, on a cruise to Boston bay. Reconnoitering the harbor they saw two frigates, the *President* and *Congress*, making ready for sea. Measures were taken to intercept them; but in the

meantime the *Chesapeake*, which had left Boston in December of the previous year, and been cruising in the West Indies, returned, and unobserved entered the harbor, much to the annoyance of Captain Broke; and to add to his chagrin the *President* and *Congress* escaped, on the first of May to sea, the weather then being foggy.

As the *Chesapeake* could not be expected to put to sea while two frigates were near the harbor, Captain Broke, after taking a supply of water and provisions from the *Tenedos*, detached her with orders not to rejoin him till the fourteenth of June. After the *Tenedos* left, Captain Broke sent several verbal messages to the *Chesapeake* inviting a combat, to which he received no reply. Doubting whether his messages had been delivered, he wrote, on the first of June, a challenge to the commanding officer of the *Chesapeake*, in which he said: "As the *Chesapeake* appears now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favor to meet the *Shannon* with her, ship to ship, to try the fortune of our respective flags. The *Shannon* mounts twenty-four guns on her broadside, and light boat guns, eighteen-pounders, upon her main deck, and thirty-two-pound cannonades on her quarter-deck and forecastle, and is manned with a complement of three hundred men and boys, besides thirty seamen, boys, and passengers who were taken out of re-captured vessels lately." After fixing the place of meeting, and providing against all interruption, Captain Broke concluded thus: "I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity to the wish of meeting the *Chesapeake*, or that I depend only on your personal ambition for your acceding to this invitation. We have both noble motives. You will feel it as a compliment if I say that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service I can render to my country, and I doubt not that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs in even combats that your little navy can

now hope to console your country for the loss of that trade it can no longer protect. Favor me with a speedy reply. We are short of provisions and water, and cannot stay long here."

This letter was sent by a Captain Slocum, a discharged prisoner, who was proceeding in his own boat to Marblehead, a port a few miles north of Boston, but before it had reached the *Chesapeake* she had sailed to meet the *Shannon*. The captain of the *Chesapeake* had got leave of absence, and she was now commanded by Captain Laurence, late of the *Hornet*, which in the month of February had sunk the *Peacock*, a British war sloop far inferior to the *Hornet* in weight of metal and crew. Captain Laurence was an able officer, and deservedly held in high estimation by his countrymen. After despatching the challenge, the *Shannon*, with colors flying, stood in close to Boston lighthouse, inviting by her presence the *Chesapeake* to come out. At half-past twelve o'clock, while the crew were at dinner, Captain Broke went himself to the mast head, and there observed the *Chesapeake* fire a gun and loose top-gallant sails. The stately frigate presently advanced with a light breeze, rounding the light house under all sail at one o'clock. She was accompanied by a number of pleasure boats, filled by Americans, who were desirous of seeing the combat. The two ships continued their course to sea till forty minutes past five o'clock, when the *Chesapeake* bore down on the *Shannon*, luffing up within fifty yards of her, when the American crew gave three cheers. At fifty minutes past five the first shot was fired by the *Shannon*, and then the exchange of broadsides became as rapid as the men could fire. Owing to the men at the helm of the *Chesapeake* having been killed, she had for a moment become unmanageable, and her stern and quarter were exposed to her opponent's broadside. Her stern posts were thus bent in, and the men driven from their quarters. Presently the ships neared each other—the

quarter of the *Chesapeake* pressing on the *Shannon's* side. Captain Broke, observing that the Americans were deserting their quarter-deck guns, ordered the great guns to cease firing, and the main-deck boarders to advance. He himself then leaped on the quarter-deck, the boarders following. There was not an officer or a man for the moment to oppose him. His boarders then advanced towards the forecastle, driving twenty or thirty of the crew before them, who endeavored to get down the hatchway, but in their eagerness prevented each other. Several went overboard, and others reached the main deck through the bridle-ports, while the rest laid down their arms and surrendered.

After the Americans on the forecastle had submitted, Captain Broke ordered one of his men to stand sentry over them. He was giving orders to answer the fire from the *Chesapeake's* main top when the sentry called to him. On turning round he found himself confronted by three Americans who were advancing to attack him. He successfully parried the thrust of a pike and wounded the man in the face, but received a blow from the but-end of a musket which bared his skull, whilst the third man cut him down with his broadsword, but one of the *Shannon* seamen at once killed the man with the broadsword, and the other two Americans soon fell under the cutlasses of the British tars. As the attack on Captain Broke was made by men who had surrendered, the *Shannon* boarders were so exasperated that Captain Broke had great difficulty in saving from their fury a young midshipman who had slid down a rope from the *Chesapeake's* fore-top and begged his protection. As the seaman Windham was tying a handkerchief round Captain Broke's head, pointing aft, he called out—"There, Sir, there goes the old ensign over the Yankee colours." The Captain cast his eyes to the ensign with feelings which it were vain to attempt to describe.

The first Lieutenant of the *Shannon* lost his life under

peculiarly painful circumstances. He had taken down the American ensign, and was putting up the English flag above it, when in consequence of the ropes being tangled, the American flag appeared above the English, which caused shots from the *Shannon* to be fired, killing the Lieutenant and four or five seamen of the *Shannon*.

Captain Laurence fell mortally wounded a few minutes after the battle began. Of a crew of three hundred and eighty-one men and five boys, the *Chesapeake* lost forty-seven killed and ninety-nine wounded. Of a crew of three hundred and six men and twenty-five boys, the *Shannon* had twenty-four killed and fifty-nine wounded. The *Chesapeake* had not only the misfortune to lose her Commander, but also her first, second, and third Lieutenants. This calamity left the ship at a most critical moment without proper command. Had Laurence not been prostrated, it is more than probable that Broke would not have found the men deserting their quarters, and whatever the issue might have been, the *Chesapeake* would not have been so speedily captured. The crew of the *Shannon* had the advantage of the most thorough training under a commander who was an enthusiast in his profession. The call of Captain Broke for boarders was responded to with the utmost celerity and precision, and four minutes after he had gained the quarter-deck of the *Chesapeake* he was master of her. Regarded as a test of the comparative national merits of British and American sailors either as to their skill or courage, the combat was not worth anything. Had the crew of Captain Laurence enjoyed the same advantages in training, they would have been quite as efficient in all respects, as they were as brave as that of the *Shannon*. Americans have always proved themselves in natural courage equal to Britons, and it were futile to strike a balance as to the respective fighting qualities of both nations from any single battle on land, or engagement at sea.

After the damage done to the rigging of both frigates had been repaired, they sailed for Halifax, where they arrived on Sunday, the sixth of June, passing along the wharves at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon. Citizens are now living who well remember the occasion. The ships were received with much cheering from the inhabitants, and the crews of the men-of-war lying in the harbor. The brave and able Captain Laurence had died on the passage, and Captain Broke lay in a state of severe suffering from his wounds, but was immediately removed to the house of the Commissioner, Captain the Honorable Phillip Woodhouse.

The late captain of the *Chesapeake* was buried in the ground opposite Government House on the eighth of June, with the military honors of a post captain in the British navy. At the funeral all the naval captains in port were present, and there was also a large attendance of citizens. The first Lieutenant of the *Chesapeake* died in Halifax of his wounds, and was also interred with military honors. In August the remains of both the gallant officers were removed to Boston to be deposited with suitable ceremony in their own country.

Captain Broke was made a baronet, and a number of the officers of the Shannon received promotion. The captain retired to his estate in England, and lived to enjoy his well-earned honors till the year 1841, when he died in a hotel in London, whither he had gone for medical advice. His name will remain for ever enrolled among the naval heroes of old England.

The American naval authorities held a court to investigate the circumstances under which the *Chesapeake* had been captured. Commodore Bainbridge presided. We give a portion of the report:—"The court are unanimously of opinion that the *Chesapeake* was gallantly carried into action by her late brave commander; and no doubt rests with the court, from comparison of the injury respectively sustained

by the frigates, that the fire of the *Chesapeake* was much superior to that of the *Shannon*. The *Shannon* being much cut in her spars and rigging, and receiving many shots in and below the water line, was reduced almost to a sinking state, after only a few minutes cannonading from the *Chesapeake*; whilst the *Chesapeake* was comparatively uninjured. And the court have no doubt, if the *Chesapeake* had not accidentally fallen on board the *Shannon*, and the *Shannon's* anchor got foul in the after quarter of the *Chesapeake*, the *Shannon* must have very soon surrendered or sunk." The report continues:—"From this view of the engagement, and a careful examination of the evidence, the court are unanimously of opinion, that the capture of the late United States frigate *Chesapeake* was occasioned by the following causes: the almost unexampled early fall of Captain Laurence, and all the principal officers; the bugleman's desertion of his quarters, and inability to sound his horn; for the court are of opinion if the horn had been sounded when first ordered, the men being then at their quarters, the boarders would have promptly repaired to the spar deck, and probably have prevented the enemy from boarding, which might have been done successfully, it is believed, from the cautious manner in which the enemy came on board."

The skill displayed in firing may be safely estimated by the amount of execution done in both ships during the fifteen minutes the engagement lasted—the armament of both ships having been equal. During that period one hundred and fifty-six of the *Chesapeake's* men were prostrated, whilst only eighty-three men were in a similar condition on the *Shannon*; and it is absolutely ludicrous to assert that the British boarded *cautiously*, the fact being that their onset was furious, and such as drove the few resisting Americans like withered leaves before an autumnal blast.

The year 1815 was memorable as that in which the great war with France was concluded by the defeat of Napoleon at

Waterloo, and the most unnatural contest between Great Britain and the United States was terminated by a treaty of peace executed at Ghent on the twenty-fourth December, 1815. The news as to the defeat of Napoleon arrived in Halifax in July—full details having been received on the third of August. The event was celebrated by a public dinner in the Mason Hall, the Attorney-General, R. J. Uniacke, in the chair, James Forman being Vice-President. A subscription list in aid of the families of those who had fallen in battle was opened, which amounted to the very handsome sum of three thousand eight hundred pounds, besides what was contributed by the other counties. The Assembly testified their appreciation of the labors of Sir John C. Sherbrooke, the Lieutenant-Governor, during the war, by voting one thousand pounds for a piece of plate, with which his Excellency was presented. In the year 1816, Sir John was appointed Governor-in-chief of all the British American Provinces, and was entertained at a dinner by the magistrates and principal inhabitants in Mason Hall ere he departed. He remained in his new position for two years, and then went to England, where he died on the fourteenth of February, 1830.

The administration of the Province was entrusted to Major-General George Stracey Smyth, till the arrival of the Earl of Dalhousie in October.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Dalhousie's speech to the Legislature—The letters of "Agricola" Congratulation of the author by Lord Dalhousie—"Agricola" is appointed Secretary to the Provincial Agricultural Association—Is solicited to disclose himself—His reasons for writing under an assumed name—First meeting of the Agricultural Society—Mr. John Young reveals himself as the author of the letters—A sketch of his life—His character—Mr. Elkington's system of drainage—Smith's system—Acts passed by the British Parliament respecting drainage—Drainage in Great Britain—Establishment of schools by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—Project for the establishment of a public seminary in the Province—Opening of King's College—Its exclusiveness—Establishment of Pictou Academy—Lord Dalhousie founds Dalhousie College—Aid denied from the British Legislature—Proposed union of the colleges—Basis of union—Opinion of Lord Dalhousie in reference to it—Its rejection by the Archbishop of Canterbury—Opinion of the Colonial Secretary with regard to union—Walter Bromley—He establishes schools in Halifax—Inaugurates Sabbath School work in the Province—Present system of road management—Lord Dalhousie suggests a survey of the Province—Indifference of the House on this subject—Presentation by the Assembly of a star and sword to Lord Dalhousie on his assuming the Governor Generalship of Canada—He declines to accept them—He revisits Nova Scotia—His reception in Halifax.

Lord Dalhousie, in addressing the Legislature, congratulated the members in occupying the splendid building in which they were now assembled, and expressed the hope that it would stand to the latest posterity, as a proud record of the public spirit of this period of the history of Nova Scotia, — being equally honorable and useful to the Province. His Lordship also referred to the prosperous condition of the Province. The distress that had prevailed two

years ago had disappeared, agriculture and the fisheries were prospering, and successive years of abundant crops had, under the blessing of Providence, dispelled the clouds that hung over the country, and commerce was reviving under the influence of an order of the Prince Regent in council by which the port of Halifax had been declared to a certain extent a free port. "In committing to you," said his Lordship, "the general discussion of public affairs, there are some points which call for my special recommendation to your attention; these I shall merely name at present, and explain myself more fully upon them in the progress of the session. I shall call your attention to a measure tending to animate the general spirit of improvement in agriculture, and I will submit to you the plan of an institution in Halifax, in which the advantages of a collegiate education will be found within the reach of all classes of society, and which will be open to all sects of religious persuasion."

On the fifteenth of July, 1818, appeared in the Acadian Recorder, the first of a series of letters on agriculture, under the signature of Agricola, which from the vigour and scholastic character of their style, as well as from the important scientific information they conveyed, at once attracted public attention, and not only excited general interest, but inspired enthusiasm in regard to the subject of which they treated. At the time these letters were commenced, general business was depressed, and the farmers, who had been accustomed to receive high prices for produce of all kinds during the war, had now to dispose of it at a nominal rate. The social status of the cultivators of the soil was such as would be regarded incredible were it not vouched for by so respectable an authority as Agricola, who says that "the cultivation of the earth, that prime fountain of national wealth, and the first and most essential of arts was accounted so despicable and vile as to be the fit employment only of the unlettered and vulgar herd,—the keeper of a tavern

or tippling house, the retailer of rum, sugar and tea, the travelling chapman, the constable of the district, were far more important personages, whether in their own estimation or that of the public, than the farmer who cultivated his own lands." The letters at once assumed a practical bearing. The very first of them recommended the formation of an agricultural society in every county for the adjudging of prizes on subjects previously announced in the public newspapers. Agricola likewise invited correspondence on subjects connected with practical farming—an appeal that was more readily responded to than could have been anticipated, enabling him to impart additional interest to his communications by attaching to them the sentiments of his correspondents.

The work which Agricola set himself to perform consisted of three parts,—first, to treat of the principles of vegetation and tillage; second, the management of live stock, and third, the miscellaneous matters connected with agriculture tending either to further or retard its progress.

The volume treats of the first of these under five sections —the first on climate, the second on the purposes which soil serves in the growth of plants, the third on the use of the different agricultural implements in preparing the ground for vegetable productions, the fourth on manures, and the fifth on the obstructions to successful tillage.

There was genius indicated in the arrangement of the subject, and in point of execution, whilst works exist written by men who have made the topics of which they treat subjects of special study, displaying greater depth of knowledge, and a more rigidly concise and accurate style, yet we question whether within the range of English literature any book on agriculture exists in which so great a variety of scientific knowledge is united with the same degree of literary merit, and which so completely answered the end for which it was published. There are Junius—like touches in the letters of

Agricola, which are rarely met with even in the best authors, and which would have done credit to an Addison or a Macauley, and have all the more merit as coming from a merchant who wrote only during his leisure hours.

The intelligence of the Province was arrested by these lucid and practically useful communications, and within a year after the publication of the first of them agricultural societies were formed throughout the Province. Lord Dalhousie was delighted with the productions of the unknown correspondent, and wrote him a letter encouraging him to pursue the patriotic course on which he had entered. "While I thus continued to write, "says Agricola "and he—the Governor—to approve, the first characters in rank in the Metropolis did not stand long by as idle spectators, but touched with the lambent flame of patriotism, they hastened within their respective spheres of influence to scatter and propagate that sacred fire which soon burst out with irrepressible and unextinguishable brightness."

At the dinner of the North British Society in November 1818, the Earl proposed the health of "Agricola, a gentleman who, though unknown to him, he was certain from his writings deserved the appellation of a scholar and a patriot, and whose exertions in the cause of the prosperity of the country called forth the esteem of every friend to its welfare." He trusted a central Board of Agriculture would be formed in the Province, and that the day they were now celebrating—St. Andrew's—would be further distinguished as that on which such an institution was first proposed to be established.

On the twelfth of December Agricola announced that a public meeting would be held on the following Tuesday, at which Lord Dalhousie would preside for the purpose of forming a central society of agriculture. His Lordship in opening the proceedings said that his acknowledgments were due to Agricola for the impulse he had imparted to the

general energies of the Province, but as it was extremely probable Agricola was present he should abstain from expressing his full sentiments of approbation, as he wished neither to flatter nor offend him.

Mr. S. G. W. Archibald then moved a resolution to the effect that a society to be called the Provincial Agricultural Society should be formed in Halifax, which was agreed to. The noble Chairman proposed Agricola as Secretary, and the Hon. Brenton Halliburton consented to act in that capacity till the unknown author revealed himself. Agricola was present at this meeting, and we will allow him to describe his feelings in so novel a position, as well as to convey most interesting information as to circumstances which must ever continue to be invested with deep interest. "About this period—he says—"I was solicited on all hands to disclose myself, and appear before the public in my real character. It was agreed by my friends that the ends of concealment were now accomplished, that an ardent spirit of improvement had been breathed into the agricultural body, that a zealous manager was now needed to guide the machine which had been set in motion, that the central board had been incorporated conformably to my suggestions, that the Legislature had voted fifteen hundred pounds for agricultural purposes, that the present Secretary, the Hon. Brenton Halliburton, was anxious to resign the office he had only accepted in trust, and that the Directors would feel greater confidence in their measures, if I would come forward, take part of the responsibility, and bear a share of the burden. Induced by these reasons and the wishes of His Excellency—the Earl of Dalhousie—I yielded, and threw aside the mask of Agricola. But this step cost me much thought, and was a departure from my original design. These letters of mine were never regarded in any other light than as the occupation of my leisure hours, and as the means of correcting the gross opinions which everywhere

prevailed respecting the capabilities and resources of this fine province. I saw and heard a climate universally spoken against, which was infinitely superior to that of my native country, and which could ripen productions that scarcely lived under glasses in Scotland. The system of husbandry was wretched in the extreme, and the profession of a farmer little short of being despised. A visible poverty since the treaty of Paris was benumbing every faculty of intellect, begetting habits of langour and inaction among the people, and preparing them to descend into the lowest abyss of humiliation. The American flag waved triumphant in the fort of Halifax, and was dispensing to us, by way of indulgence on the part of that Government, those very products which our own soil could abundantly furnish, had its productiveness been excited and drawn upon by a vigorous industry. The proud and independent spirit of a Briton burned fiercely within me, and I vowed the surrender of my vacant time to the good of the country I had adopted. After some little deliberation I laid my plans, not to write a system of agriculture, but to combat as well existing errors as to light the glow of patriotism, and the synopsis no less than its execution and development, so far as they have yet proceeded, bear marks of this predominent feeling. But a regular attack on the prejudices and habits of the people exposed a writer to much resentment. For that reason I resolved on acting behind the curtain, and shutting myself from the gaze of the public. I did not even put my printer in possession of the secret, and no small difficulty lay in contriving a mode of communication with him by which I should avoid detection. That I effected by the intervention of a third party—Dr. William Petrie—who passed betwixt us under all the sanctions of the most inviolable secrecy. My first purpose of remaining for ever concealed was in no instance shaken, till his Lordship the Governor, at the meeting held on the fifteenth of December, 1818, called to organize the central

society, named me as Secretary. It was the only circumstance in that day's occurrence which disconcerted me for a moment, for I heard all the encomiums passed in the course of the discussion with the most immovable indifference. But any tolerable judge of human nature might have discovered the unknown Agricola in the involuntary heat and flush of his countenance at that appointment. But the effect was as transitory as sudden, and it almost instantly subsided into unruffled composure. This event gave rise to a new train of ideas, and I began to hesitate whether this mystery in the writer might not prove treachery to the cause. I meditated deeply and frequently the policy of laying aside my personated character, and often resolved, and re-resolved without coming to a satisfactory conclusion."

"During this state of doubt on my part, the public curiosity was on the stretch, and a thousand schemes were resorted to, to find out the secret. Notwithstanding all my care, little circumstances transpired which pointed to me some share of the suspicion; and my more intimate and immediate friends, who had had access to my private hours, failed not to remark a seclusion which they thought must be devoted to the composing of those weekly letters. Still the matter was in a state of dubiety, and nothing positive or very certain had been discovered to set it at rest. But the busy and the inquisitive had assured themselves about this time, by means of several ingenious contrivances, that all others on whom suspicion had fallen were not concerned in the writings. A clergyman, who by many was long regarded as the author, and who was accounted fully equal to the undertaking, from his close attention to rural affairs, went out of town for a few days. A letter was insidiously despatched to me requiring an immediate reply. Without knowing the stratagem, I answered on the same afternoon on which it was received, and thus gave infallible proof that the gentleman in question was not the object of their search. By such means conjec-

ture was drawn within narrower limits, and at this date there was a pretty general expectation that I would turn out to be the writer, who had so long worked the secret springs of the agricultural movement."

"When a whole people feel interested in making a discovery, it is almost impossible to elude them. By comparing notes with each other, and collecting their scattered hints, they are in a condition to deduce inferences of great probability, or, at all events, avoid any serious mistake in their reasoning. Almost all the leading men of the Province either possessed my handwriting themselves, or had seen it in the various private communications which I was sending by every post to my numerous correspondents; and although the characters were intentionally reversed, and lay reclining from left to right, still there was a resemblance in their form and shape by which they were guessed to have come from my pen. My ordinary handwriting was compared with this counterfeit one, and the truth, I fear, too often shone from beneath the disguise."

"All these considerations had their weight in determining me to step forward in my own person, and assume the duties of the office which had been assigned me. A few days, therefore, before the meeting of the Provincial Society, which was now called by the Governor, the Earl of Dalhousie, in conformity with the act of incorporation that had just received the sanction of the Governor, I wrote to his Lordship and subscribed my real name. An interview immediately followed, and thus the long contested secret was finally divulged."

In April, 1819, the first meeting of the Society was held in the House of Assembly, the Lieutenant-Governor in the chair. It was provided by the bill of incorporation that it should be held while the House was in session, and the attendance was numerous. The objects contemplated by the Society were to introduce summer fallow as a prepara-

tion for wheat, to extend the culture of oats, to encourage the use of lime, and drill green crops, to assist in the clearing of the forests, to get up ploughing matches, and to improve the live stock, agricultural implements, and the grain by new importations. The Assembly had voted fifteen hundred pounds to be placed at the disposal of the Board. It was intimated by Mr. Lawson, the treasurer of the Society, that money, to the amount of seven hundred and six pounds, had been subscribed for the objects of the Society, and that the annual subscriptions amounted to three hundred pounds. The committee of management consisted of Judge Halliburton, T. N. Jeffrey, S. B. Robie, S. G. W. Archibald and H. H. Cogswell. The number of societies formed throughout the Province at the time of the institution of the central association was fourteen.

The letters of Agricola, as published in the year 1822, were thirty-eight in number, but they by no means represent the entire literary labor of their author in the cause of agriculture. Twenty-four more had been published in the newspapers, which, we presume, never appeared in a collected form.

Strange that we should have no biography of John Young. (Agricola) We have lives without number of men far inferior to him in mental power and usefulness. His letters on agriculture from the very nature of the subject of which they treat will never be republished, for the science of agriculture is pre-eminently a progressive science, and though Mr. Young's book contains much that is of permanent value, yet a large proportion of his work is rendered obsolete by recent discoveries.

John Young was born at Falkirk, Stirlingshire, Scotland, in September, 1773. His father, a staunch Presbyterian of the old school, with the characteristic ambition of Scottish parents, destined his son for the church. With this view the old gentleman gave him a liberal education, and

he went through the usual course at Glasgow College, where he greatly distinguished himself as a classical scholar. The bent of the young man's mind was towards the medical profession, and declining to enter the church, his father, doubtless disappointed and annoyed at his hopes of seeing his son a minister not being realized, refused further aid in the prosecution of his studies. Mr. Young, therefore, directed his attention to business, which he prosecuted for some years in Glasgow with moderate success, but which was always distasteful to him, his habits being essentially literary—the only really useful books to which he had an aversion being those of the counting house. His sagacity, however, and fitful diligence always effective while it lasted, secured exemption from failure.

At the age of twenty-five, Mr. Young had earned a respectable position, and was united in marriage to a Miss Henry—a woman of remarkable talent and warm affections—by whom he had nine children, six of whom died in infancy, leaving three sons—William, now Sir William and Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, George, and Charles, now a Judge in Charlottetown, P. E. I.

In 1814, Mr. Young resolved to try his fortune in Nova Scotia, where he anticipated a good market for a certain class of goods, with a large stock of which he arrived with his family in Halifax on the thirtieth of April. The trade then flourishing was, however, broken up by the treaty of Ghent, and continued afterwards to flow in its original narrow channel at a period when the population of the Province did not exceed one hundred thousand souls, and its revenue was not fifty thousand pounds.

Mr. Young, in 1825, contested Halifax with Mr. Charles A. Fairbanks, but was defeated. His friends and admirers presented him on this occasion with a handsome silver cup in the form of a thistle enlivened with golden ears of corn. Mr. Young was, however, returned in 1825 a member for

Sydney, which he continued to represent for a number of years, and became at once a leading member of a house which was remarkable for the ability of many of its members. The speeches of Mr. Young, many of which we have read, fully sustain the reputation he had acquired by his letters on agriculture, and a pamphlet which he wrote when in Glasgow on the rights of industry, which we are informed in an article that appeared in Chamber's "Edinburgh Journal" in 1838, had a marked effect during a time of industrial excitement in tranquilizing the minds of the workmen of that large city.

In the year 1819, Mr. Young purchased Willow Park, a valuable property in the neighborhood of Halifax, and practically illustrated his agricultural doctrines, more to the benefit of the public than his own fortune.

This able and eminent man died at Willow Park on the sixth of October, 1837, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. The press, in announcing his death, said: "He has left very few men behind him, combining so much varied and valuable information with the same power to impart it either orally or through the press. This is not the place or the occasion for elaborate criticism of his course as a legislator, for nice balancing of praise or censure. We feel that a fine intellect has gone down into the tomb, that an acute and powerful writer, a logical and eloquent speaker is lost to a country where as yet talent is not very abundant and the general mind of which the deceased did much to arouse and enlighten; and we cannot shake off the feeling of sorrow and regret occasioned by his loss."*

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* An esteemed correspondent has favored us with the following amusing incident:—

In a debate in the House of Assembly on a grant of money for the importation of horses for the Province, several members expressed their opinion as to the most suitable breed. John Young was in favor of horses for farming purposes, of which he was considered a

The principles of drainage were not well understood at the time Agricola wrote, and he has only one letter in the collection before us on the subject, but the ability he brings to bear on the topic indicates the grasp he would have taken of it, and the energy and power with which he would have enforced its practice, if the scientific system which was introduced a few years afterwards by Mr. Smith, of Deanston, had been then known and recognised to be of such value as its extensive adoption has proved it. The only system of drainage known in the year 1819 was that of which Mr. Elkington, a farmer of Warwickshire, was the discoverer in the year 1763, and consisted of tapping springs in clayey soils by means of augers. The discovery was accidental. A portion of the farm owned by Mr. Elkington was rendered almost useless by the quantity of moisture that was constantly oozing from the ground. In order to get quit of it Mr. Elkington caused a trench to be cut four or five feet deep, which failed to reach the subjacent body of water. When meditating on the best mode of effecting his purpose, one of his servants came to the field with an iron bar in his hand with which he had been fixing sheep hurdles, when his master took the bar, and in order to ascertain

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good judge. James B. Uniacke was in favor of importing horses, half blood, and in his remarks spoke sarcastically about the kind of horses kept by Mr. Young, who lived at Willow Park, and which were occasionally employed in driving agricultural produce to market. Mr. Uniacke was an eloquent speaker, graceful in manner and appearance, and by his ready wit and a sly allusion to Mr. Young's cabbages, turned the laugh of the House against that gentleman. Mrs. Uniacke was a lady possessed of a large fortune at the time of her marriage, but happened, like many of the very best of her sex, not to be remarkable for her beauty. Mr. Young who had sat dreamily listening to Mr. Uniacke, by-and-bye rose to reply, and with a complacent smile beaming on his countenance, said: "We, in Scotland, Mr. Speaker, select our horses upon the same principle that *some* gentlemen select their wives—not for their beauty but for their *sterling worth*." All eyes were immediately on Mr. Uniacke, and there followed a universal burst of laughter.

the character of the soil below the bottom of the ditch forced it down through clay about four feet. On withdrawing it water squirted from the hole, and flowed copiously into the ditch, and by making trenches and boring holes Mr. Elkington succeeded in draining the land—increasing its productive capabilities to a vast extent. The Elkington system became popular in England, and remained so for many years till superseded by Smith's, whose superiority was at once acknowledged.

The art of the drainer consists in improving the natural outfalls by deepening, straightening, or embanking rivers, and by supplementing them when necessary by artificial canals and ditches, and also in freeing the soil and subsoil from stagnant water by means of artificial underground channels. Smith had the sagacity to appreciate the value of the suggestions of Captain Blithe, a writer who had flourished two centuries ago, and recommended that instead of endeavouring to dry extensive areas by a few cuts, every field which needed draining should have a complete system of underground channels running in the line of the greatest slope of the ground; that the drains should be separated by ten feet as a minimum, and forty as a maximum distance; that the depth should be thirty inches, to be filled in to the extent of twelve inches with stones small enough to pass through a three inch ring. From the difficulty of procuring and carting stones of the required size, tiles and soles of burned earthenware were substituted, and the Marquis of Tweedale having invented a tile-making machine, the production of tiles was rendered comparatively easy. Experience taught the lesson that in many cases thirty inches was too small a depth, and that four feet as a rule was the proper depth. In Britain it has been found that a vast amount of money has been expended almost uselessly in making too shallow drains. We would, therefore, earnestly recommend our Nova Scotia farmers when they drain to

make thorough work of it, by not making their drains less than three feet and a half in depth. As to the distance by which they ought to be separated, eighteen feet is regarded in the case of retentive clays as the proper space. It is only with a decided porosity in the subsoil that the distance can be increased to twenty-four or thirty feet.

The importance attached by the British Parliament to a system of thorough draining is proved by the circumstance that in the year 1846 a series of Acts were passed by which, under judicious restrictions, four million pounds sterling were voted to land owners, to be devoted to the draining of their lands, the Inclosure Commissioners being entrusted with the allocation of the money, and superintendence of its outlay. The most important provisions of the Act were that it enabled possessors of entailed estates equally with others to share in the benefits of the fund; that it provided on terms favorable to the borrower for the repayment of the money so advanced by twenty-two annual instalments; that before sanctioning the expenditure of the money the commissioners were to have a report from a qualified inspector to the effect that it was likely to prove remunerative; and finally, that the work was to be performed according to specifications prepared by the inspector and approved by the commissioners, who seldom allowed less depth of drain than three and a half feet.

Since the time of the publication of the letters of "Agricola," thorough draining has been practised to such an extent in Britain, that there is now almost no farm with any pretentions to superior cultivation which has not been subjected to it; and though many millions of pounds have thus been expended, the returns have proved highly remunerative. Scotland, with a keen appreciation of the value of draining, and ever foremost in the career of agricultural improvement, secured half the amount voted by Parliament, and the whole of the five millions of pounds had been allo-

cated in the year 1854; the per-centage charged on the loan being six and a half.*

If Lord Dalhousie was zealous in the matter of agriculture, he was equally so in the matter of education. Before, however, referring to his efforts in that direction, it may be proper briefly to review the progress made in furnishing the colonies with the means of educational training.

To the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts—connected with the Church of England—belongs the honor of making the first effort to educate the people. Shortly after the settlement of Halifax, schools were established in various sections of the Province, under the auspices of the Society. As early as the year 1768 the Governor and Council submitted a plan for a collegiate school to the Board of Trade and Plantations, with the view of procuring aid, who, while declining to take the initiative in the establishment of the proposed institution, promised liberal aid when it should be set on foot. In the following year a committee was formed in Halifax for the purpose of corresponding with the Society for Propagating the Gospel, consisting of the Governor, the Chief Justice, and the Secretary of the Province, who proposed that the allowance made to the Society's schoolmasters should be withdrawn, and devoted to the

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* Dr. J. W. Dawson, in his excellent book published in 1856, and entitled "Contributions Towards the Improvement of Agriculture in Nova Scotia," gives a quotation on draining from "Norton's Elements of Scientific Draining," in which from thirty to thirty-six inches of depth in drains is recommended. British experience has, however, proved that thirty-six inches is not, in many cases, a safe depth. Dr. Dawson's work should be in the hands of every farmer in the Province. It is clear and simple in style, and conveys in a pleasing form a very great deal of useful information within a comparatively limited space—just such a book as one specially intended for farmers ought to be.

The Legislature of Ontario passed an act in 1872 to provide for the construction of Drainage works, and to authorize the investment of certain moneys in debentures to be issued for the construction of such works.

support of a public seminary, believing that the funds could be so enlarged by liberal contributions from the principal inhabitants of the Province, as to become an ample support for a gentleman of learning and respectability to engage in the work. The town of Windsor was considered the most suitable place for the seminary, where it was supposed the pupils would be exposed to fewer temptations than in Halifax. The Society, for various reasons, declined to alter their plans, and the project was, therefore, held in abeyance.

In the year 1780 a Committee of the House of Assembly was appointed to consider a proposal for the establishment of a public school in Halifax, who recommended that a sum not exceeding fifteen hundred pounds should be voted for the erection of a suitable building in the town; that one hundred pounds be voted as annual salary for a teacher, and fifty pounds for an assistant,—which recommendations were adopted by the House.

In the year 1787 the scheme for a collegiate school was revived, when the Legislature took up the matter and passed a series of resolutions based on a report of a Committee of the House, by which it was determined to establish a seminary at Windsor, for instructing the rising generation in the principles of sound literature and the Christian religion, and giving it a liberal education. Provision was accordingly made, to the amount of two hundred pounds a year, for an exemplary clergyman of the Established Church, well skilled in classical learning, divinity, moral philosophy, and the *belles lettres*, as Principal; and a sum of one hundred pounds a year for a Professor of Mathematics. This academy was accordingly opened, by the English bishop, on the first of November, 1788. In the following year a proposition for the erection of a college was submitted to the Assembly, who voted four hundred pounds sterling a year in perpetuity, besides five hundred pounds for the purchase of a site for the

college. To these were added three thousand pounds voted by the British House of Commons at different times; Mr. Granville intimating His Majesty's intention of granting a Royal Charter to the college. John Inglis, son of Dr. Charles Inglis, the first Bishop appointed to Nova Scotia, when a young man, went to England in the year 1800, and was entrusted with the advocacy of the interests of the college, and discharged the duty zealously and ably. A charter was accordingly obtained in May, 1802, with an additional grant of one thousand pounds, which was continued annually till the year 1834.

Notwithstanding remonstrances from various quarters the Governors persisted in making subscription to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England a condition of matriculation. One of its bye-laws was as follows: "No member of the University shall frequent the Romish mass, or the meeting houses of Presbyterians, Baptists or Methodists, or the conventicles or places of worship of any other dissenters from the Church of England, or where divine service shall not be performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England, or shall be present at any seditious or rebellious meeting." The bishop, who was a liberal-minded man, disapproved of this very objectionable law, and submitted a written protest against its adoption, which Judge Croke—a very bigoted man, who was administrator of the Province on several occasions during the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor, and whose policy in money matters indicated an incorrigible, selfish and grasping spirit—prevented the printer from pasting on the blank leaf of the statutes. The protest and statutes were, however, brought under the notice of the Archbishop of Canterbury through the Rev. John Inglis, the bishop's son, and His Grace determined to expunge the obnoxious law, by which dissenters were prevented from enjoying the benefits of an institution supported from the British and Provincial funds. Some members of the Board

of Governors prevented the circulation of the law as altered, and the prejudice of the public mind against the college continued.

The exclusion of dissenters from Windsor College formed a just ground of complaint, and led the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch, Presbyterian minister, to propose, in the year 1805, the establishment of an institution for the higher branches of education, open to members of all denominations; but he found it impossible to carry out his plan. He, therefore, founded an Academy which proved so successful that in the year 1816, a society was formed for the purpose of providing an institution which might afford to dissenters educational advantages similar to those enjoyed by members of the Church of England at Windsor. With the concurrence of the predecessor of Lord Dalhousie—Sir John C. Sherbrooke—an act of incorporation was obtained by the trustees, but when the bill, which had passed in the House of Assembly, came to be submitted for approval to the Council, they inserted a clause which provided that the trustees and teachers should be members of the English, or Presbyterian church, which was tantamount to making the institution entirely dependent for support on the Presbyterians, which then had only about twenty congregations in the entire Province. The trustees, being energetic men, succeeded in raising one thousand pounds for the erection of a building, which was afterwards known as the Picton Academy. Application was then made to the House of Assembly for permanent aid, which was granted without almost any opposition; but the Council, whilst voting a certain sum from year to year, refused to make it permanent. Thus the question continued to come up yearly with invariably the same result, the Assembly's decision as to permanency being rejected by the Council. In the meantime Dr. McCulloch fought manfully for the Academy, and conducted it with spirit and efficiency. "During the whole time of his continuance with the Aca-

demy," writes the Rev. George Patterson, of Pictou, "he taught logic, moral philosophy and natural philosophy, there being only one other professor who taught the classics and mathematics. Diverse as the branches were which he taught, he taught them all. I have since had an opportunity of knowing something of the professors of Edinburgh University, but never till I saw them did I know the real greatness of Dr. McCulloch. There were men there who, in a particular department to which they had chiefly directed their attention, would have doubtless excelled him, such as Hamilton in metaphysics, &c., but there was no man in that University who could have made the same appearance in all the branches taught. He was, in fact, a perfect *Senatus Academicus*. He could have taken any branch included in the Faculty of Arts and Theology, and even some reckoned under the Faculty of Medicine, such as chemistry and natural history, and taught them in a respectable and efficient manner. You may think this exaggeration from the partiality of an old pupil, but Dr. Dawson of McGill College, expressed to me some years ago in Edinburgh, the same views. I may add that his intellect was of that peculiar clearness that whatever he knew, he knew accurately and distinctly. It was impossible for him to be obscure."

In the year 1811, an Act was passed to establish grammar schools in Sydney, Cumberland, King's, Queen's, Lunenburg, Annapolis and Shelburne counties, and in the districts of Colchester, Pictou and Yarmouth. The teacher was to receive a bonus of £50 pounds from the treasury, and his assistant fifty pounds in cases where the number of scholars was over thirty. An Act was also passed granting aid to common schools, providing for the payment of one hundred dollars in any settlement of not less than thirty families, and in which two hundred dollars were raised by assessment for school purposes.

The Earl of Dalhousie on his arrival in the Province made

himself acquainted with the laws by which Windsor College was regulated, and disapproving of the unwise restrictions imposed, resolved to found a college in Halifax on the principle of the Scottish Universities, where young men of all denominations might have the benefits of a good education.

During the American war, Castine, in the State of Maine, had been captured by the British forces and held for a considerable time. The revenue derived, in consequence, from duties had amounted, after paying expenses, to ten thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. Of this sum the Earl proposed that one thousand pounds should be set apart for a garrison library, that three thousand should be applied in building a college, leaving six thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds for the endowment of the college. As trustees he proposed the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Provincial Treasurer, and the minister of the Scottish Church in Halifax. The proposition was approved by the Prince Regent, and the House of Assembly voted sums at different times to the aggregate amount of three thousand pounds for the erection of the building, and five thousand pounds as a loan to aid the college. After the building was finished, about eight thousand pounds remained for investment on interest. Before the institution could be put in active operation, Lord Dalhousie had left to assume the Governorship of Lower Canada. The governors of the rival colleges, impressed with the conviction that both could not prosper separately, resolved to take measures for effecting a union. A conference was accordingly held, consisting on the one hand of the governors of King's College, and on the other, as representatives of Dalhousie College, of S. G. W. Archibald, Speaker of the Assembly, and the Hon. Michael Wallace, the Treasurer of the Province. These gentlemen accordingly prepared a report in which the basis of union was embodied. The new college was to be in Halifax, and

designated, "The United Colleges of King's and Dalhousie." The governors were to be the same as those of King's College, with the addition of the Treasurer of the Province. The Patron was to be the Archbishop of Canterbury; the college to consist of three or more Fellows; three or more public professors, and twelve or more scholars. The internal government of the college was to be vested in the President and Fellows exclusively. The President was to be a clergymen of the Church of England in full orders, and must have taken the degree of Master of Arts, or Bachelor in Civil Law in the regular manner in Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, or King's and Dalhousie. The public professors were to be chosen by the governors upon satisfactory proof of sufficient qualification, without respect to their country or university. There was to be an entire union of the lands, monies and funds of the two colleges, and all bequests and donations which heretofore had been made or given to either of the said colleges, was to become the property of the united colleges.

Such were the leading conditions on which the proposed union was to be effected. They were forwarded to Lord Dalhousie, who, on a deliberate consideration of them, wrote a letter to Sir James Kempt, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, which completely neutralized insinuations which were too widely circulated that in founding a new college he was hostile to King's College, and ambitious to have his name permanently associated with a colonial seat of learning. "I have always," he wrote, "declared it my sole object in the foundation of the Halifax college to obtain education to all classes in Nova Scotia and adjoining Provinces, but particularly those that are excluded from King's College, Windsor, by the rules of that institution. By the proposal of the paper I have now received, I think my object is obtained as fully as could be desired. The removal of the institution to Halifax, open lectures in college, in-

struction and honors—with the exception of church degrees—free to dissenters of all classes, are the advantages that were looked for by a college at Halifax; and I am truly happy to learn that these are not considered to be altogether inconsistent with the primary object of King's College. The government of the college cannot be placed more advantageously than in the hands of the governors, patron and visitor of King's. The constitution and internal government are equally unexceptionable, provided that the toleration contemplated in that of Halifax be secured. If these proposals shall be finally approved, I think the very character and name of Dalhousie College should at once be lost in that of the other, so that the style of King's College should alone be known and looked up to."

The draft of a bill embodying the agreement to which the joint commitee had come, was prepared by the Attorney-General, and approved by Lord Dalhousie. Copies of the draft were sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter disapproved of the union, and Dr. Inglis, having obtained liberal contributions in England towards the support of the college, its governors became cool in the matter of union, so that no further steps were at that time taken to effect its consummation.

Four years afterwards the question of union came to be discussed, in consequence of debates occurring in the House of Assembly on a proposal to make the yearly grant of five hundred pounds to the Pictou Academy permanent like that of the college of Windsor. It was also proposed, by certain parties, to withdraw the five thousand pounds voted as a loan to Dalhousie College, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies was perplexed by petitions and representations made by the contending factions. The most satisfactory solution of the difficulty which occurred to the Home Government was the union of the two colleges—one first-

rate educational institution being deemed quite sufficient for a Province with so limited a population. Such was the opinion of Sir George Murray, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1829, and such was the opinion of Lord Goderich, who succeeded him, and who, in opposition to the views of not a few Nova Scotians, regarded the Assembly as alone competent to deside as to the constitution of the United Colleges. He thus wrote in reply to an application for the continuance of the grant of one thousand pounds to King's College, which was threatened to be withdrawn: "Had the resources available for the support of the college at Windsor been such as to admit of its being carried on as at present, I should certainly have abstained from recommending any change, but as this is not the case, as it must necessarily be dependent on the liberality of the Legislature, I think it is unfortunate that the governors have declared beforehand their intention of not agreeing to a union with Dalhousie College, except upon terms to which it is not probable that the assent of the Legislature would be given. Supposing it to be admitted that it would be desirable, if possible, to have a college constituted in the manner proposed by the Board of Governors, still, when the means do not exist of giving effect to their wishes in this respect; when the existence of any college whatever depends upon their own notions of what would be most advisable, being in some particulars departed from, it appears to me that such a concession should be made. As, therefore, it is impossible that a college should be established without the assistance of the Legislature, I should hope that the Governors of the two existing institutions would consent to leave to the Legislature—which can best judge of what is required for the interest of the Province—the task of determining what is to be the constitution of the new establishment. On the other hand, I cannot doubt but the Assembly, if their discretion on this point was left unfettered, would see the advantage of making

ample provision for the support of a place of liberal education; and would likewise consent to the appointment of those who will lose the situations they hold in the college at Windsor to similar situations in that which, I trust, will be created." These suggestions were not, however, approved by the Governors of King's College.

It is to be regretted that the proposed union had not been effected. King's College has done good service to the Province, but the question as to whether Nova Scotia can adequately maintain two colleges is not one which admits of discussion. Every student can testify that he learns quite as much from his fellow-students as from his professional teachers. Hence the importance of large classes, where a great variety of ideas is interchanged, and a spirit of emulation fostered. It may be truly said that as iron sharpeneth iron so does the intellect of a man that of his friend. The writer may be permitted to express the hope that the courtship between King's and Dalhousie may be speedily renewed, and a happy union consummated.

Any record of educational movements in the Province which did not contain an allusion to the labors of Mr. Walter Bromley would be extremely deficient—a gentleman who proved himself a most persevering, laborious, and eminently successful teacher. Mr. Bromley established in Halifax a school in July, 1813, on Lancaster's system, in which reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography were efficiently taught. Girls were taught every kind of needle-work, and a room was fitted up for the purpose of training them in the arts of carding and spinning wool, and of dressing and spinning flax. With this energetic teacher there was no day of rest, for he was the first to begin Sabbath School work in the Province, which he personally superintended, and which proved so successful that the people of Pictou founded a Sabbath School in the year 1817, and in March, 1822, formed a society for the promulgation

of the system in the eastern part of the Province. In a year after the formation of the society twenty-nine Sabbath Schools were in operation, in which about a thousand young persons received instruction.

Deeming the system of Provincial road management defective, Lord Dalhousie proposed improvements in a message to the House. He desired to see the management centralized, disapproving of a large number of commissioners. He wished the law, by which no one commissioner should have the disposal of more than five hundred pounds of road money, to be abrogated, and the maintenance of the great roads to be entrusted to the Council, while the money intended for the cross roads should be under the management of the Justices of the Peace and the Grand Juries. He proposed that the tools should be provided by the counties, and that commissioners should be empowered to act for one year. These suggestions were coldly received by the House.

In perusing the records of the Province, one is struck with the liberal road grants made from year to year, and nothing is more certain than that if the money had been honestly applied to the purpose for which it was voted, and the legal amount of statute labor faithfully performed, Nova Scotia should at this day be in possession of as fine roads as any country either in Europe or on this continent. But the management has been degenerating from year to year till it has culminated in a gigantic system of political corruption in the conduct of which perjury has come, in many cases, to be regarded as no crime—the system being a nuisance to every man in the Province whose moral instincts are in a healthy condition. About one hundred and seventy thousand dollars of the public funds are voted annually for roads and bridges, and entrusted to the members of Assembly. These gentlemen are immediately beset by patriots who have made themselves useful at election

time, and the money is distributed amongst them on a sworn declaration that a certain amount of work has been done. There is no responsible surveyor for each county to report as to the repairs required, or any of those precautions taken that sane men regard as absolutely necessary in the conduct of their own business, to protect them from imposition. For every one that receives this political sop half a dozen of the honorable member's supporters are offended, and even the recipients of the grants grumble because the appropriations are not larger. The Assembly might devote the whole revenue of the Province to roads and bridges, making, as at present, the performance of the work entirely dependent on the oath of the contractors, and the people of the Province would find from year to year no improvement in the service. The most sacred of obligations in connection with the road service has come to be regarded as a demoralizing sham. Millions of pounds are expended on railways and public buildings without any oaths being required, and the sooner they are dispensed with in connection with road work the better. What is wanted is good work done for good money paid.

Another subject to which Lord Dalhousie called attention was the necessity for a survey of the Province to which the House paid no attention, at which omission, as we shall see, his lordship was much offended. Upwards of fifty years have elapsed since this subject was brought under the notice of the House, but the work has not yet been done. The public domain is considered of sufficient importance to require a separate public department conducted at a very large expense. But the crown lands were never systematically surveyed with the view of having in the Crown Land office a record of the quality and quantity of land for sale in each county. It were vain to urge the necessity for such a survey. It must be apparent to the dullest intellect, and that the work has not been done is an anomaly as difficult

to be accounted for as the misappropriation of the road money.

The Assembly, desirous of marking its appreciation of the services rendered to the country by Lord Dalhousie, voted a star and sword to his Lordship. An address was accordingly presented by the Speaker and the whole House, and he signified his grateful acceptance of the honor on condition of His Majesty's approval being obtained; but when his Lordship found that the Assembly did not give legal effect to the leading measures of his administration, he addressed a letter to the Speaker, dated the thirteenth April, 1820, in which he expressed regret as to the nature of the communication he had now to make in consequence of the proceedings of the last Session. His attention since he prorogued the Assembly had been directed to the more deliberate consideration of the results of these proceedings. Having rested confident of the same support which, till now, he had received, it was with great surprise and mortification he observed, in the first place, that one part of the leading measures which he had submitted to the House had been altogether passed over — he meant the survey of the Province. In the next place, that the allowance granted last year for the inspection of the militia, this year included as part of the civil list public expense, had been entirely omitted; and in the third place that the House, casting aside the long established forms of returning answers to the special messages of the Executive Government, had shown a disposition to disregard the prerogative rights, and the respect due to that first branch of the constitutional legislature. Without going into any inquiry, and without any delay of time, he felt it his duty to express through the Speaker to the House, that such conduct could not rest unnoticed, although it might be guarded against in future; but the chief motive which now pressed him to address the Speaker before the dissolution of the Assembly, arose out of

the address of the House, which was presented to him by the Speaker and the members in a body, expressing approval of his conduct, and requesting his acceptance of a most magnificent testimonial of regard. He could have no hesitation in thanking the House of Assembly for this honor, and promised to solicit the gracious permission of his Sovereign to receive the testimonial therein described, but when he found the leading measures of his administration rejected and suppressed in a manner disgraceful to the high station in which he was placed, at the very moment, too, when those gifts of approbation were tendered to him, his duty to his king, his duty to the Province, and above all, the earnest regard he had to his own personal honor equally forbade the acceptance of the testimonial voted; he therefore now retracted the answer which he gave without suspicion that such circumstances could possibly exist, and he hereby, with all due respect, desired to decline the offer, and to consider it of no effect whatever. He concluded by requesting that his letter might be communicated to the members of Assembly in the form most suitable to the established rules of the House, and to that respect which he had always felt and expressed towards them.

Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of the Governor, the Assembly and the people appreciated the disinterested motives by which he was actuated, as proved by his reception when he visited the Province three years after his departure to assume the Governorship of Lower Canada. He arrived in Halifax, from Quebec, on the third of July, 1823, when an address was presented to him by the Sheriff, J. T. Chipman, from the magistrates and inhabitants of the town. He was also entertained at a public dinner and ball, which were numerously attended by the *élite* of the Province. His Lordship was certainly one of the most able and practically useful Governors to whom its administration has been entrusted.

CHAPTER XIII.

Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt assumes the Governorship—Annexation of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia—Death of Rev. Dr. E. Burke—A sketch of his life—Destructive fire in Shelburne County—John and James Croskill—Extensive fire in Miramichi—Sufferings of the inhabitants—Election of Lawrence Cavanagh, a Roman Catholic, to the Assembly—He refuses to take an oath condemnatory of his faith—The Home Government petitioned to dispense with the declaration against Roman Catholicism—Sir James Kempt's road policy—Sir James Kempt receives the Governorship of Canada—Appointment of Sir Peregrine Maitland as Lieutenant-Governor—John A. Barry, Member for Shelburne, censured by the House for improper language during debate—He refuses to make an apology—Is suspended by the House—Barry charges the committee with falsehood—Is committed to prison, and rescued by the mob—The editors of the "Acadian Recorder," and "Free Press" reproved by the House of Assembly—Origin of quit rents—Dispute between the Council and the House of Assembly on the subject of brandy duties—Opening of the House of Assembly—Speech by the Governor—Renewal of the brandy dispute—Sketch of the Rev. Dr. James Macgregor—Formation of Temperance Societies in the Province—First application of steam in the Province—The Halifax Mechanics' Institute—Departure of Sir Peregrine Maitland—The Hon. T. N. Jeffrey appointed Administrator of the Government—Policy of the British Government in appointing Governors.

On the first of June, 1820, Lieutenant General Sir James Kempt, G.C.B, arrived in Halifax from England, to take the place of Lord Dalhousie. In order to obtain information respecting the Province he made a tour to the western portion of it in autumn, and was otherwise most assiduous in preparing himself for his gubernatorial duties.

The British Government having resolved to annex the

island of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, addressed a despatch to the Lieutenant, dated the fifteenth of August, 1820, instructing him to consider the measures necessary to give effect to His Majesty's wishes. He was to issue writs for the election of two members for the county of Cape Breton to sit in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, to dissolve the Council of Cape Breton, appointing, however, to seats in the Council of Nova Scotia any one or more members whose knowledge of the local interests of the island, or whose merits in other respects entitled them to that distinction. The object being to make the island in every respect an integral part of Nova Scotia, he was to consider the measures necessary for the Legislature of the Province to adopt in order to give effect to this intention. The laws of Nova Scotia were to be made applicable to the island, and legal action given by an act of the Legislature to such ordinances as had been passed by the Governor and Council of Cape Breton, and might be deemed beneficial to the interests of the island. With respect to the administration of Justice, it was necessary that the Judges of Nova Scotia should extend their regular circuits to Cape Breton, in order to secure to the inhabitants every facility which they were entitled to expect. The Lieutenant-Governor was instructed to report as to those officers whom he might consider it necessary to retain, either permanently or for a time in the island after its annexation to Nova Scotia. It was deemed expedient that the officer of the Customs, the Naval Officer, the Surveyor General, the Superintendent of Mines, who all had duties independent of any union or separation of the government, should remain in the discharge of their respective offices as usual, with the difference, only, of reporting to the Lieutenant Governor through the Superintendent, who was to be appointed resident in the island. The services of the Judges, and the greater part of the subordinate officers of Justice were to be dispensed with, but a specification of the length

of their several services was to be forwarded to the Home Government, in order to enable them to judge how far these officials might be entitled to a continuance of the whole or a portion of their respective emoluments, or to be transferred to some other situation.

The Chief Justice, Mr. Dodd, was allowed his full salary of five hundred pounds a year for life as a pension, whilst the Secretary, Provost, Marshal, and Naval Officer were allowed half their salaries.

The people of Cape Breton were by no means pleased with the union recently effected, and sent an agent to London, in order to represent to the British Government the inexpediency of the change, and with the view, if possible, of securing a severance. Their efforts, however, were not successful, and Cape Breton has ever since continued an integral portion of the Province.

In the month of November, in the year 1820, died at his Episcopal residence in Halifax, an eminent ecclesiastic of the Roman Catholic Church, the Right Reverend Edmund Burke, Vicar Apostolic and Bishop of Nova Scotia. Born in Ireland, he held before his arrival in this country, the positions of Vicar General and Parish Priest of his native diocese, Kildare. On his arrival at Quebec, he was appointed to a professorship in the Seminary where he remained for some years, and won the esteem and confidence of the heads of his own church, and of the civil and military authorities. His superiors must have formed a very high opinion of his zeal, fidelity and administrative abilities, as we find him sent shortly after as a missionary to Western Canada to evangelize the wandering Indians, and with a commission from the Governor to secure their allegiance to British interests. The recent struggle between the mother country and the revolted colonies made it an object of paramount interest to the colonial authorities to secure the attachment of the Indian tribes. Dr. Burke's mission was

successful. Several of the letters which he wrote during his missionary labours in the wilderness to an eminent Irish ecclesiastic, are still preserved in the archives of the cathedral in Halifax, and give graphic details of his labors and sufferings among the children of the forest. It will sound strange to those who in this year, 1873, know the number of bishops, priests and ecclesiastical institutions of his church to be found from Montreal to Detroit, to learn from Dr. Burke's letters, that he and another priest were for several years the only missionaries in that vast region. The Imperial Government testified their appreciation of his services to them by conferring on him a pension of £300 a year.

In 1803 he was sent by the Bishop of Quebec to Halifax, as its first settled pastor, and to organize the adherents of the Church of Rome in that city. Into the details of his labors in this way, and the successful efforts he made to provide, according to circumstances, for the spiritual wants of his flock we cannot now enter. The Glebe House so well known to strangers and residents in Halifax as the home of all Catholic Prelates and Priests, and St Mary's Cathedral, which was designed and its foundation laid by him, attest his energy and zeal.

Polemics ran very high shortly after the arrival of Dr. Burke, and we find him in 1804, and for several years afterwards engaged in discussions on the "allegiance of Catholics" and all the controverted points of doctrine between the Churches, both with Dr. McCulloch, and Bishops Stanser and Inglis. The writings of Dr. Burke, which are now nearly out of print, were published in three large volumes, and bear ample evidence of his thorough knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. That he was a prelate of vast erudition, a powerful reasoner and able exponent of the tenets of his own church will be admitted by all who have examined his works. He maintained

the most friendly relations with the Duke of Kent, whose friendship and confidence he enjoyed, and the successive military commanders frequently consulted him on subjects of engineering and fortification with which, judging by the number of works on these and kindred studies in his library, with notes in his hand writing, he must have been quite familiar.

In 1816 Dr. Burke went to visit the Pope, and to represent the state of religion in this Province. That he had made a favorable impression on the authorities is evident from the fact that he received, shortly after, the Bulls nominating him first Catholic Bishop of Nova Scotia. The cares and responsibilities of Episcopacy were too many for one who had attained his 76th year. He accepted the mitre and immediately sought among the Irish clergy for one who would share his labours as an assistant Rev. Mr. Long, of the Irish College, Paris, and a Rev. Mr. Lyons, of Cord, both declined the profered honor. The Bishop died in 1820, in his 78th year, and the second of his episcopacy. The Dominion of Canada in its wide extent has seen few if any of its Prelates who died more respected and regretted by all classes, more beloved and idolized by his own flock, and whose memory as a great, enlightened and liberal minded Prelate is looked up to with so much veneration.

In the month of September a most destructive fire broke out in the woods in the western part of the Province, and spread desolation over a considerable extent of country, reducing nearly sixty families in he townships of Yarmouth and Clare to a state of the greatest distress. The calamity was immediately made known to the Lieutenant-Governor by the magistrates of the county of Shelburne, and as a temporary relief the government vessel was immediately despatched with provisions and other necessary articles; liberal subscriptions were also made in various sections of the province for the sufferers.

During the administration of Sir James Kempt what was designated boards of location were established in the various counties of the Province, who received applications for lands, and to whom was delegated the power of making grants—thus saving the applicants the trouble and expense of a long journey to Halifax.

About this time died John Crosskill, of Bridgetown. Mr. Crosskill was a native of Norwich, in England, and was employed by the British Government in conveying Hessian troops to America to operate against the Colonists in rebellion, and he afterwards commanded a coast-guard vessel, and settled in Halifax. Having obtained grants of land in Bridgetown, he was one of the first to promote the settlement of that district. He was also the first to introduce the process of smoking herring on the Digby principle, which is now so extensively practised. Mr. Crosskill was highly respected, and died in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His son James, a well known citizen of Halifax, died in 1864, in his seventy-third year.

The year 1825 will be ever memorable in the history of the Lower Provinces as that in which a destructive fire occurred at Miramichi. For the information of the more youthful readers of this book it may be necessary to state that Miramichi includes a port, bay and river on the north-east coast of New Brunswick, in the county of Northumberland. The river is the second in importance in the Province, rises in Carleton, and communicates by easy portages with the Saint John. About fifty miles from the ocean the two head streams unite in forming its main body, which is navigable for fifty miles. It derived its chief importance at the time of which we write from the immense forests of red and white pine which clothed its banks.

About the year 1814 the timber trade of the county was prosecuted with great vigour. A tide of emigration set in

towards Miramichi, which caused it to assume a flourishing aspect—the number of villages, churches and schools indicating the rapidity of the progress made.

The summer of 1825 was unusually dry and warm on the American continent, and in Nova Scotia extensive fires were raging, particularly in the eastern districts, but from the circumstance of the land being cleared for some distance round the various settlements with which the country was studded, comparatively little inconvenience was felt by the inhabitants.

In Miramichi the summer had been remarkably hot, and so little rain had fallen that serious apprehensions were entertained for the crops. The haziness of the atmosphere indicated distant fires along the south side of the Baie des Chaleurs, and parts of the district of Gaspé. No alarm was, however, felt in consequence of these far off conflagrations. At the beginning of October, when the weather is generally cool and bracing, a most unnatural heat was experienced. It continued with no intermission from the first till the fifth of the month, when there was unmistakable indications that the fire was approaching. Distant flashes were seen in the woods, and the heat became more oppressive and enervating. On the sixth the atmosphere was charged with hot vapour, and a pale mist was seen to settle over the forest. There was not a breath of wind. Even the leaves were not heard to rustle. The mist gave place gradually to a dark cloud like that which portends a thunder storm. At three o'clock the heat had become very oppressive, but yet no alarm was excited. Distant explosions were now heard, and the whole country seemed encirled with fire. About four o'clock in the afternoon an immense pillar of smoke was seen to rise north-west of Newcastle, but a breeze springing up it was broken up, and floated in large fragments. As it became dark, and the sky was illumined by the yet distant blaze, some of the inhabitants of the devoted district became

alarmed, but failed in convincing the people generally of approaching danger. About nine o'clock the fiery tornado awakened the people to a sense of impending destruction. A roar was heard from the woods followed with loud thunder. The lightning flashed, and the wind blew with the utmost fury, lashing the river into foam. These were but the harbingers of approaching destruction. There was a moment of awful silence—then a hissing noise from the forest accompanied with a living stream of fire, which in a few moments enveloped the settlements, reducing houses, stores, and barns to ashes.

The people, in considerable numbers, hurried to the river, and plunged up to the neck in water. Some got into boats and on rafts to be driven by the fury of the wind, and meet a watery grave. To the south-west of Newcastle was a marsh to which hundreds fled, and from the circumstance of no combustible material lying between the town and this retreat their safety was to be attributed. The vessels in the river were only saved through the vigilance of the sailors in quenching the flames ere they took hold of the rigging. Three of them, however, took fire and were consumed.

"That a stranger," says an eye witness, "may form a faint idea of the desolation and misery no pen can describe, he must picture to himself a large and rapid river thickly settled for one hundred miles or more on both sides of it. He must also fancy four thriving towns, two on each side of the river; and then reflect that these towns and settlements were all composed of wooden houses, stores, stables and barns; that these barns and stables were filled with the crops, and that the arrival of the fall importations had stocked the warehouses and stores with spirits, powder, and a variety of combustible articles, as well as with the necessary supplies for the approaching winter. He must then remember that the cultivated or settled part of the river is but a long narrow strip, about a quarter of a mile wide and

lying between the river, and almost interminable forests stretching along the very edge of its precincts, and all round it. Extending this conception he will see these forests thickly expanding over more than six thousand square miles, and absolutely parched into tinder by the protracted heat of a long summer, and by the large fires which had streamed through every part of them. Let him then animate the picture by scattering countless tribes of wild animals, hundreds of domestic ones, and even thousands of men through the interior. Having done all this, he will have before him a feeble description of the extent, features and general circumstances of the country which, on the night I have mentioned, was suddenly buried in fire."

The conflagration extended over one hundred miles in length. Newcastle, which had a population of a thousand souls, was reduced to ashes. Douglastown, about a third of its size, was in the same condition. Of two hundred and sixty houses and stores in the former town only twelve remained. One hundred and sixty persons were burnt or drowned, and the loss of property was about two hundred thousand pounds.

The news reached Halifax on the afternoon of Saturday, the fifteenth of October, and on the following day—Sunday—a public meeting was held, and twelve hundred pounds subscribed for the relief of the sufferers. The noble example of Halifax was followed in other parts of the Province, and Nova Scotia contributed altogether four thousand five hundred pounds to mitigate the sufferings of the unfortunate people of Miramichi.

In the year 1827, Mr. Lawrence Cavanagh, a Roman Catholic gentleman, was returned as one of the members for Cape Breton, but a difficulty arose as to his taking his seat. The oath which members were obliged to take embodied condemnation of the Roman Catholic faith, and while Mr. Cavanagh was willing to take that portion of the oath which related to

the state, he could not swear against any articles of the religion which he professed. Several resolutions were submitted to the house on the subject, some of the votes on which seemed somewhat inconsistent with each other. At length a bill was passed providing for the removal of the objectionable clause, but the Council, whilst approving of the principle and objects of the bill, refused to give it effect, on the ground that it was opposed to British law. On the facts being laid before the Home Government through the Governor, permission was granted to Mr. Cavanagh to take his seat on taking the state oath. A resolution was afterwards passed by the Assembly which provided in future for the admission of Roman Catholics duly chosen as representatives in the same way. As the oath, however, in point of form remained the same, a petition was ably drawn up in 1827, by the Rev. John Carrol and others, and presented to the Assembly, praying that such tests of eligibility should be taken into consideration by the House, and measures adopted for their abolition. Mr. Uniacke, on the subject being introduced, proposed the following resolution,—"That a committee be appointed to prepare an humble address to His Majesty, requesting His Majesty would be graciously pleased to dispense with the declaration and test oaths against Popery, which His Majesty's subjects in this colony are called upon to take." The resolution was seconded by Mr. Haliburton, the historian, in a speech which Mr. Murdoch heard, and which he declares was the most splendid piece of declamation to which he had ever listened. The resolution passed, and a committee was appointed to draw up an address to the King, in which the Assembly assured His Majesty that his Roman Catholic subjects in Nova Scotia were second to none in loyalty and attachment—that they had been witnesses of their civil conduct, and it was only due to truth to say that they evinced as zealous a disposition for the maintenance of His Majesty's government, as any other denomina-

tion of His Majesty's subjects. They had already, under the sanction of His Majesty, removed every restrictive law relating to his Roman Catholic subjects, which had been followed by their gratitude. Unwilling to pause they would now solicit the gracious exercise of the Royal prerogative for their additional benefit, and in compliance with the unanimous voice of the House of Assembly, they humbly solicited that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to dispense with the declaration against Popery and Transubstantiation, as unapplicable to the present situation of the country, and tending to create invidious distinctions amongst His Majesty's loyal subjects.

These sentiments were in harmony with a growing public opinion in Great Britain, but to the honor of the Legislature of Nova Scotia it seems to have been rather in advance of the Parent State on this subject. Ever since the year 1804 there had been a division in the King's council on the subject of the Roman Catholic question. The Government of the country had at intervals before that time been composed of persons who made a common cause in their resistance to the Roman Catholic claims, but for twenty-five years previous to the period of which we are treating, men holding different opinions on that question had formed His Majesty's council. Though the British House of Commons had on five different occasions, between the years 1807 and 1829, passed bills for the relief of the Roman Catholics, resistance was offered by the House of Lords. For many years Sir Robert Peel had persistently opposed all measures having for their object justice to Ireland, but towards the year 1829 his sentiments had undergone a change, and he became the able champion of a radical and comprehensive measure of relief, which he carried triumphantly through the House of Commons, by a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of Sir James Kempt's administration was the assiduous attention he devoted to the improvement of the roads of the Province. In the speech with which he opened the Assembly in January, 1828, he referred to the subject, intimating his intention of causing extensive surveys to be made, with the view of improving the internal communications of the country—an object which he regarded as of primary importance to its welfare and prosperity. Having travelled through the Province for the special purpose of making himself acquainted with the condition of the roads, the Governor laid before the House a paper containing information on the condition of the roads, and making such suggestions as to the expenditure of the annual appropriations as he deemed an improvement on the existing system. He regarded the annual appointment of commissioners to expend the Provincial grants on the great roads as both injurious to the public service, and attended with many inconveniences. The commissions were seldom issued before the first of June, and the commissioners were just beginning to ascertain what improvements were required, and make arrangements for effecting them, when they were not unfrequently succeeded by new commissioners, who disapproved of all that had been done, and adopted a new mode of procedure. His Excellency, therefore, recommended the appointment of permanent commissioners on the great roads, selected from the most intelligent and capable persons in the country. Persons so appointed would make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the respective lines of road placed under their superintendence, and the public would have responsible persons to look to for the due execution of a most important service, and always knew the culpable individual, in the event of misconduct or misappropriation of the public money; and His Excellency would be furnished with reports which could be relied upon, of the state of the great roads, and be enabled to lay before the Legislature at its

annual meetings estimates which would serve as a guide to the appropriations.

His Excellency suggested that the votes for the cross roads, and other roads which did not come under the designation of high roads, should be expended by the surveyors of highways, in conjunction with the statute labor of the inhabitants —the surveyors being made responsible to the General Sessions of the Peace for the faithful expenditure of the Provincial grants, as well as for the due performance of the statute labor—the money not to be paid from the Treasury until the certificate of the Clerk of the Peace was produced.

His Excellency recommended that all considerable grants for the opening of new roads, for all such as do not come under the designation of great roads, and for extensive bridges should be expended by commissioners specially appointed for the purpose.

A resolution embodying the foregoing suggestions was submitted by the speaker, and unanimously adopted by the House.

In August, 1828, Sir James Kempt left Nova Scotia for Canada, of which he had been appointed Governor, resigning the Government of the Province into the hands of the Hon. Mr. Wallace. For eight years Sir James held office in Nova Scotia, and discharged his duties most efficiently. Addresses were presented to him, expressive of the high sense entertained of his services, and his works still continue as an enduring monument to the practical benefits of his administration.

In the year 1778, a survey was made, at the public expense, with the view of making a canal between Dartmouth and the Basin of Minas, by Mr. Heldrith, a civil engineer. The expense of a canal four feet in depth was estimated at twenty five thousand pounds, but no steps were taken at that time for its construction. In 1825 another survey was taken by Mr. Hall, engineer, who estimated the expense of a canal

eight feet deep at about sixty thousand pounds. In order to meet objections which were urged against the project Mr. Charles R. Fairbanks—one of the ablest men in the town—published a pamphlet on the necessity and importance of the proposed communication. Soon after a meeting was held in Halifax at which a subscription was opened for the construction of the canal, and seventeen thousand pounds were thus raised, the Legislature voting fifteen thousand pounds towards the object. The undertaking proved an unfortunate one to the Company, no interest having been realized from the capital invested.

Sir James Kempt was succeeded in the administration of the Province by Sir Peregrine Maitland. The House met in February, 1829. In his opening address His Excellency said that he should freely communicate with the House by message, on all subjects touching the public interests, in the fullest assurance that any suggestions which by their labors could be rendered subservient to the increase of the general welfare would not be recommended by him to their consideration in vain.

The Honorable William Annand, in the biographical sketch of the Hon. Joseph Howe, attached to the Speeches and Public Letters of that gentleman, refers to the course taken by Mr. Howe in reference to the case of Mr. John A. Barry, who had been subjected to the censure of the Assembly for words spoken in debate, and as the affair created a popular sensation at the time, it may be proper to present a few facts connected with it.

Mr. Barry was member for Shelburne, and during the session of 1829, had presented a number of petitions from persons who deemed themselves aggrieved in being obliged to perform militia duty. One of the petitioners was Patrick Gough, of Liverpool, who had sustained an injury which a medical man had certified unfitted him for duty. Mr. Barry spoke very strongly in favor of the petitioner, and was

replied to by Mr. J. R. Dewolf, who said that if the honorable member for Shelburne had acted with proper courtesy and honorable feeling, the petition would never have been presented to the House. The petitioner he said was a lawless, troublesome kind of character—a radical by principle, and a smuggler by practice. He had frequently evaded the performance of militia duty, generally contriving to dodge the sergeant who was sent to warn him. As to the story of his broken back, there was not a more able-bodied man in the county—not one who could run faster, or throw a weight further. Depositions were read to the House which flatly contradicted the statements of the petitioner. Whilst Mr. Dewolf was addressing the House, Mr. Barry went out and returned with the copy of a letter which the petitioner had addressed to Colonel Joseph Freeman, the commander of the Queen's County Militia, and a member of Assembly, which concluded with the words: "I am, Sir, your old friend and PARTNER, Patrick Gough,"—Mr. Barry laying a strong and significant emphasis on the word "*partner.*" Mr. Freeman addressed the Speaker, and requested that the gallery should be cleared, when he accused Mr. Barry of throwing an imputation on his character. Both gentlemen were ordered to retire, and the House dictated the following apology which the member for Shelburne was required to offer ere he could take his seat: "Being convinced that in speaking the words, and reading from the letter, the expressions which have induced Colonel Freeman to call me to order, I was led into great impropriety, I do, therefore, now apologize to Colonel Freeman and to the House for the haste and warmth which misled me," which apology Mr. Barry, on being called in, refused to make.

A petition was presented by some of the freeholders and inhabitants of the Township of Shelburne, praying that the seat of the suspended member should be declared vacant, and a writ issued for a new election. In the petition

approval was expressed of the course taken by Mr. Barry, and reference was made to the intense excitement created in the Province by the act of suspension. The petition having been referred to the Committee of Privileges, they reported that after an examination of the precedents and rules of proceeding of the House of Commons, and the Provincial Assembly, they found it entirely inconsistent with precedents and practice to vacate the seat of any member on his own request, or that of his constituents. The Committee regarded the petition as couched in reprehensible language, which they attributed to ignorance of what was due to the House, rather than any design to be offensive. The Committee failed to find one instance of refusal by a member to make any apology required by the Assembly or the House of Commons. The report was signed by Charles R. Fairbanks as chairman.

A second petition was presented praying that the seat of the contumacious member should be declared vacant, on which the Committee of Privileges made another elaborate report, which concluded with the following words: "Your Committee, while they regret that the Township of Shelburne should be deprived of the services of their member, can only repeat that this misfortune is wholly attributable to the contumacious and improper conduct of the person whom they have sent to represent them. Under these circumstances the Committee are of opinion that although expulsion should necessarily follow such numerous and aggravated offences, yet this measure having been deliberately sought by Mr. Barry for the purpose of evading the first order of the House, would fail to be a punishment, and as the notoriety of expulsion seems unfortunately to be an object of ambition to the misguided and offending member, your Committee are also of opinion that, as far as this House can, they are imperatively called upon to enforce obedience to its orders; nor should they lose sight of the opportunity afford-

ed by the recess to Mr. Barry to calm his excited feelings, and to make reparation, as far as possible, by submitting himself to the judgment of the House, and expressing sorrow for the delusion and infatuation of his past conduct."

After the second report of the Committee was presented, Mr. Barry published a violent letter in which he charged the Committee with deliberate falsehood, and attacked individual members. For this offence he was brought to the bar of the House, and on his own confession of the authorship, was, with one dissenting voice, ordered to be committed to prison. On reaching the door of the Province building, he refused to go to prison except on compulsion, when he was immediately, by means of force, set at liberty by an excited crowd. A number of members who had engaged to dine at Government House were hooted by the mob, and pelted with snow and stones. One member had his head severely cut, and a number were glad to take refuge in private houses. The tumult was so violent that the services of the military were required for its suppression. Mr. Barry subsequently gave himself up to the officers, and was committed to prison, where he remained till the close of the session. The House had passed a resolution for his expulsion, but he was again returned for Shelburne, and when the House met again in the month of February, took his seat quietly, and so the matter ended.

Whilst a calm review of the proceedings in the case of the member for Shelburne leads to the conviction that the House was fully justified in its proceedings against that gentleman, yet its action at the same time in reference to Mr. Holland, of the *Acadian Recorder*, and Mr. Ward, of the *Free Press*, can scarcely be vindicated. These gentlemen had printed long and bitter letters from Mr. Barry on the subject of his treatment, with occasional additional comments, and for this supposed offence they were called to account by the House, and reprimanded by the Speaker. It was this undue

exercise of power on Wednesday, the eighth of April, in combination with the popularity of Mr. Barry, that produced the fermentation which resulted in the disgraceful tumult which followed a few days afterwards. Mr. Howe, the editor of the *Nova Scotian*, though he approved of the general conduct of the House in regard to the member for Shelburne, yet with courage, which as a youthful editor did him credit, boldly rebuked the representatives of the people in the following temperate and manly terms: "The Assembly claims freedom of speech within its walls, and those to whom the Press is entrusted claim it without; and if editors are brought for offences to the bar of the House, Legislators may depend upon this—that they will be brought individually and collectively to a bitter expiation before the bar of the public."

The Assembly of 1829, took into consideration a message of the Lieutenant-Governor as to the disposal of the duties collected under the statutes of the Imperial Parliament for regulating the Colonial Trade. The message embodied a communication from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in answer to certain representations made by the Assembly, as to the disposal of the Custom House revenues of the Province. Previous to the year 1826, the shipping connection between Nova Scotia and foreign countries was of the most limited kind; circuitous voyages could not be undertaken, and the produce of the fisheries was exported to the West Indies almost exclusively. The ports of the Province were almost closed to foreign shipping, and the convenience of warehousing merchandise, as practised in England, was not permitted in Nova Scotia. The laws of 1826 introduced a new system extending to the Province advantages which were duly appreciated by the mercantile community. But legal anomalies still continued, which the Assembly were anxious to remove. The Board of Customs continued to exercise powers which interfered with

Provincial rights. Without consulting the Legislature, they issued positive instructions to retain nearly one-half of the aggregate duties for the maintenance of their own officers. This was justly regarded as an infringement of the constitutional rights of the Provincial Assembly, who forwarded a spirited remonstrance, fortified by unanswerable arguments, claiming that no other authority than the Provincial Legislature could legally direct the collector of His Majesty's Customs to pay over the duties, levied under the statutes of 1826, to any person but the Treasurer of the Province. To the arguments so ably put, the Home Government did not reply directly, and the inference that they were unanswerable may be fairly drawn. A compromise was proposed by the Home Government, without any discussion as to the important principles involved, by which the sum retained for the payment of the Custom House officials was to be modified. That part of the message which related to the Customs having been referred to a Committee to report, they recommended the passing of an Act by which it should be provided, that in place of fees at the Customs, the sum of six thousand four hundred pounds sterling should be annually set aside to pay the expenses of the whole establishment—this sum to be paid out of the proceeds of all duties levied on foreign imports under the Imperial Acts, but not from any other portion of the revenue; and the balance to be granted as a free gift to His Majesty. They also recommended that the bill should contain the most express declaration of the right of the Assembly to the sole disposal of the duties. These and other equally important suggestions were embodied in a bill which was afterwards passed.

As the subject of Quit Rents engaged the attention of the Assembly during the session of 1829 and 1830, and was also at that time eagerly discussed in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, it seems necessary to explain its nature and origin, so far as Nova Scotia was concerned.

In the year 1759 Governor Lawrence issued a proclamation, setting forth the conditions on which the public lands of the Province would be granted, intimating that they would be subject to a quit rent of one shilling sterling, yearly, for every fifty acres—such rent to commence at the expiration of ten years from the passing of the grant, and to be paid to the Receiver-General at Halifax, or his deputy, for the use of His Majesty. The rent was not, however, at any time systematically collected, and the Government was induced to suspend the collection indefinitely, on account of the poverty of many of the landowners. In the year 1811, Mr. Crofton Uniacke, who was appointed Receiver-General, had collected five hundred and sixty pounds of these rents, and made preparations for the collection of the whole arrears, which at that time amounted to forty thousand pounds. The House, however, petitioned for a suspension of the collection on the ground of the distress which would result from it, when His Majesty instructed Sir John Sherbroke, the Lieutenant-Governor, to inform the Assembly that the collection should be suspended provided a suitable provision were made for the maintenance of the clergy of the Church of England. To that proposition the House objected, and stated their reasons in an address in answer to the Governor's message. In 1827, Lord Bathurst, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, transmitted an order remitting all arrears of quit rents previous to the first of January in that year, and directing the collection of them thenceforward—the proceeds to be applied to such local improvements within the Colony as might be sanctioned by His Majesty. In 1828 the House addressed His Majesty praying that he would be pleased to relinquish his quit rents, or suspend their collection. The answer to this address was that the Secretary of the Colonies could not recommend His Majesty to grant the prayer of the petition, but that he was prepared to enter into a composition or commutation of these rents. Sir George Murray

had accordingly sent a despatch offering to fix the value of the rents at two thousand pounds, less than one half of their actual annual amount; and in the Assembly the question raised by the offer was discussed at great length, and with much ability. The Speaker and Mr. John Young thought the House ought to close with the offer, but their opinion did not accord with that of the majority of the Assembly; and on the motion of Mr. Murdoch the following resolution was adopted, and an address based upon it presented to His Majesty: "That it does not appear to be the general wish of the inhabitants of this country that any such commutation or purchase should take place, or that the said quit rents should be collected and enforced, but, on the contrary, this House is induced to believe that the relinquishment of the claim would give general satisfaction to the people of Nova Scotia, as their long suspension had produced a belief among the inhabitants in general that they would never be insisted on, and that the transfers of land had been, with scarcely an exception, made under that impression." This resolution has certainly a spice of humour in it, and it must be admitted that a more easy method of getting quit of a debt to Royalty could not have been adopted. Whilst the arguments of the Speaker, and Mr. John Young in favor of a commutation of the quit rents were unanswerable, yet the resolution of the House was possibly the best, as it was certainly the most popular, that could have been passed.

Towards the close of the Session of 1830, the House and the Council came into violent collision, and the discussions which took place being of abiding interest as involving an important constitutional question, we shall endeavour to place before the reader the main facts and arguments connected with the controversy.

In the year 182[illegible] the revenue laws had undergone careful revision. At that time a duty of one shilling and four-

pence was imposed on brandy, but in consequence of a misconstruction of the law, the duty collected from 1826 to 1830 was only one shilling. The Committee appointed to examine the accounts discovered that the intentions of the Legislature had been defeated by the construction put upon the Act, and the House resolved to make the duty what was intended by the Act of 1826. There was no intention on the part of the Assembly to alter the general scale of duties in 1830, and when the bill imposing an additional four-pence a gallon on brandy was sent to the Council they objected to the alteration, refused to pass the bill, and requested a conference. A Committee of the House accordingly met, with a Committee of the Council, and during the conference, the gentlemen representing the House were told that the Council thought the duties imposed on a variety of articles too high, and proposed certain specified reductions. The Assembly were justly offended at this unprecedented interference with their constitutional functions, and positively refused to make any alterations to please the Council.

During the discussion Mr. John Young said, that there never was a matter brought under discussion in the House fraught with more serious consequences. It was a contest between the two branches of the Legislature on a Bill of Supply to His Majesty, over which the Commons claimed peculiar control. It was not merely about fourpence per gallon to be imposed on brandy and gin, for value in money weighed nothing in the balance compared with the constitutional right which the imposition of this duty involved. The whole question might be expressed in these words—whether the Lower House in a Revenue Bill or His Majesty's Council were by Parliamentary practice, bound first to yield. Much blame had been cast on the Council for their interference in a money bill. He was satisfied they had a right to ask a conference, and to state objections to the amount of duties, or to the provisions of the bill. But their constitutional right was strictly limited to suggestions, for they could not touch the bill or send it back with amendments. All the steps taken by the Council in the conference held was strictly regular, and invaded no privilledge of the House; but when the Assembly came to a final decision, and determined to adhere to the bill, then it was the duty of the Council to yield. The Council knew that the revenue bill was expired on that day, and

that if they rejected the measure they would throw everything into confusion.

At an early period of British Parliamentary history the Upper House did interfere both in originating and regulating the supplies, but after a long struggle they conceded to the Commons this power, and for a long time no such assumption had been attempted. The Lords viewed the spirit of the people, and did not attempt to disgrace and trample on their representatives. What! the Council have resolved on the daring measure of disagreeing to a Revenue Bill, not because it gave too little to His Majesty, against which, as supporters of the Crown, they might remonstrate, but because it gave too much: and that too as a tax on an article of luxury consumed by the rich and not by the poor. It was a most extraordinary step, and ought to be resisted. If the Council were determined to try their strength with the House on such a question, and at such a time, let them abide by the consequences. They ought to know that while the debate was proceeding the merchants of the city were acting, and that at that hour upwards of eleven hundred pounds worth of dutiable articles were thrown into the market, without paying a farthing to the Province; and who could tell how much might be forced on the market before the dispute ended. Now when the right of the House was called in question in clearing up an ambiguity in a Revenue Bill, it was time to make a stand, to rally round the privileges that belonged to them, and assert them boldly and firmly. If they weakly gave way it was certain from the nature of conference held with the Council that great changes were meditated in the revenue laws, and the question of privilege must sooner or later be tried. They were not to be deterred from their purpose by dread of consequences—by any considerations of expediency, and therefore now was the time to vindicate their rights, and to maintain that in matters of supply, the Council must yield to the Assembly. There was no principle of the constitution more clearly understood or more universally recognised than that all taxes must originate in and be regulated, guarded and directed by the representatives of the people, and that the revenue derived from them was the gift and boon of the Commons to His Majesty. The House, and the House alone, could determine the amount of the tax, direct application, and increase or diminish it, and the bill imposing such tax could not be touched by the Council. They might remonstrate, persuade, suggest. The members of the Assembly were, however, the representatives of the people, and responsible to them for their Legislative control. Should they impose taxes that were burthensome and oppressive, their constituents had the check in their own hands, and could let their voice of disapprobation be heard at the proper time and place. But what control had the people over the Council? or how could they express their indignation to them either for heavy taxes

or their misapplication? It was for that reason that the practice of Parliament had given the Commons such mighty power over money bills—that the people might have their just weight in the balance of the constitution, and that their members might not screen themselves from blame by pretending they were controlled by the Lords. He hoped there would be perfect unanimity on the question. If by division the House showed insensibility to the importance of the subject, they must be ultimately overcome. He, for one, considered the rights and liberties of that House as sacred trusts reposed in him by his constituents, and he would defend them at all hazards, and should not be deterred, either by the fear of a dissolution or by the loss of property, or even the deprivation of his personal liberty—all was to be endured in a cause so intimately connected with the best and dearest interests of the people.

The Speaker said that the mischiefs of the rejection were not easily calculated—that in a moment all was thrown into confusion, and in every part of the Province the same scene would be enacted. The warehouses were thrown open and dutiable articles were in the act of being transported to every part of the town and country, without payment of duty; but it was not merely the amount of revenue that was lost, and the consequent embarrassment of public credit, but the injury to the merchant who had imported largely and paid his duties, and now found a deluge of the same articles poured into the market without any charge upon it, and the House no doubt, at a future day, would be assailed from all quarters with grievances, arising out of this transaction, which they could not redress. Mischief would follow in the train of this rejection round the whole of the Province, public faith would be injured, the peace of the country broken, and it would be asked with eagerness, what could have induced His Majesty's Council to plunge a quiet and well-ordered Province into such a state? And the answer would be received with wonder and amazement—to save the consumer of brandy fourpence per gallon, and to gratify the importers of that article. Would it not be a difficult matter of belief? Would it not be said that this was not a matter of pence but of principle, and that the time had come to consider the constitution of that body which had brought these evils on the people? He maintained that brandy was of all articles the fittest subject for taxation. That class of the community who used it were able to pay—it was not the drink of the poor man—and to say that the duty cramped trade was ridiculous. It was the consumer and not the merchant who paid the duty, and any other doctrine at that day would not be believed.

The rejection of a revenue bill at such a time and under such circumstances by the Council—not for any unusual clauses or any irregularity in the bill itself, but merely on a trifling difference as to the amount of duty

imposed by that House, with whom such bills must originate, would form a new era in the history of the Province, and would constitute a dangerous precedent. Were the House to submit to encroachments on the rights and privileges of the people, it would become a shadow and a name, and they would be bound as honest men, in returning to their homes to tell their constituents that they had neither power nor influence, that they should address no more petitions to them to make known their wants, or to inform them of the state of the country, or as to the condition of their roads and bridges—that they should send their representatives to the other end of the building; that they were no longer to submit to a revenue raised by their representatives, but to a scale of duties raised by those whose salaries were paid from the Treasury. The House formerly had a salutary control over those officers of the Government who had seats in the Council, because their salaries depended upon the revenue bills, and they were anxious to have these bills sent them by the Assembly. But now no such control existed; permanent bills provided permanent salaries, and since the passing of the Imperial Act of Parliament, a revenue was raised without the aid of the House. Seeing that the privileges of the House were few, and their influence on the decline, it was high time to watch with care over what remained. If they were prepared to submit to the dictation of the Council as to the amount of duty upon brandy, they must be prepared next year to be told that the duty on champagne was too high; the year following port and madeira, and all other wines which now paid a high duty would follow in the order of exemption, until nothing was left. It was not therefore the sum but the principle for which they were contending. If they had not the power to grant a supply to His Majesty, and provide for the great public services of the country without humiliating dictation—if the roads and bridges, education and agriculture, the fisheries and the commerce of the country were of so little importance in the eyes of His Majesty's Council that they were to be sold for fourpence upon brandy, and the House was without redress, let them adjourn the Session, return to their homes, and not insult the people they pretended to represent with the mere mockery, and the empty form of legislation.

Mr. Uniacke said it had fallen on a minority of which he had always been one, to contend for several years past for a reduction on wines and other articles which were entirely too high. He had desired reduction of duty because he thought the additional consumption would tend to increase rather than diminish the revenue. When it was determined to impose an additional duty of fourpence on brandy he had opposed the measure, and the bill had now been rejected by the Council. He would not give his consent to any infringement on the rights of the Council. While they were careful to preserve their own rights they should respect the

rights of others. He must give the learned Speaker credit for the splendid eloquence with which he had delighted the House, but he could not agree with his sentiments and views on this important subject. It had been said the Council had no right to reject a revenue bill, that they had only to look upon it as a matter of form, and send it back to the House; that it was for the House alone to say what should be taxed and what should not, and that the Council had no right to give any opinion. It was fortunate for the country that the Council did possess certain powers of which they could not deprive them, and after being recognised for nearly a century as part of the Government, he did not expect to hear them questioned by the honorable Speaker. He would turn to the paper handed to a Committee of the House in conference, from which it appeared that the Council expressly stated that the present rate of duty would press heavily on the commerce of the country, indeed, on certain articles it amounted to prohibition; on that account they desired a reduction. This was a subject which a minority of the House frequently urged upon the attention of the members. The Council had made no amendments on the bill, nor attempted to infringe their rights by taxation, and by expressing their wishes in conference they had touched on no privilege of the House. The House itself had been the occasion of all the mischief that had happened, by not showing a disposition to consider the views of the Council, or even to treat them with respect and courtesy. It had been for some time past the fashion to depreciate the power and character of the Council within the walls of the Assembly, and to attack them on all occasions, regardless of the part they take in the legislation of the country under the constitution. Recently, when a bill had been refused, it echoed round the House that now was the time to send an address to the Throne to request His Majesty to remove some of the members, and grant a Legislative Council. The majority of the House, like prudent soldiers, ought not to have rushed into the field without providing for a retreat, and when the Council, in respectful language, offered suggestions they should have been courteously met. The House was now placed in such a position that it could retreat without legislative dishonor, and he saw no remedy left, but by an appeal to the elective voice of the country. But they were told that the revenue bills were always to be kept on the table of the House, as a whip over the heads of the Council, until they received all that was wanted from them. He was afraid they would soon be debased if such steps were necessary. The bills were sent to the Council late on Monday evening, and as a proof that that body did not slumber over them, a message was sent next day to ask a conference, in which certain reductions were proposed. Had his warning voice been listened to, they would not have been subjected to the loss of revenue of which they complained. He voted originally against the imposition of the one shilling

and fourpence duty, and he should now vote against adherence to that duty. Could they suppose that the Council would give way after the debate of this day had reached them? He would sooner see them stand on the ruins of the country and the revenue than reliquish the rights that belonged to them. There was not one fact urged from which he could draw the conclusion that the Council had deprived them of one privilege, or had any other object than the country's good. The opinions they expressed as to reduced taxation were as legitimate as their own, and if they thought the rates in the bill too high they had a right to dissent. The Assembly had closed the door, and could not expect the Upper House to lessen its dignity so far as to yield in violation of their oaths, and the trust reposed in them by their Sovereign. He had heard it said by the member for Cumberland, that sooner or later a rupture with the Council was inevitable. He had no desire to draw the curtain aside, and disclose the feelings by which such expressions were produced. Were he to do so the order of the House must be violated.

A new bill was in point of form before the House, and on the question being put whether the blank should be filled up with one shilling and fourpence duty, there voted for the motion thirty-one, and against it five—every member of the Assembly being in his place.

The discussion was afterwards continued on the motion of Mr. Uniacke, that the report which had been submitted by a committee of the House, condemning the action of the Council, and justifying that of the Assembly, should not be received, when Mr. Beamish Murdoch delivered a long and telling speech, evincing much careful research and sound argument, in opposition to the motion. On the question being put the report was adopted by thirty-three votes to three.

A message having been received from the Council reflecting on the conduct of the Speaker, the Assembly passed a resolution to the effect that by his conduct he had merited both the gratitude of the House and the country. The House afterwards went into committee on the general state of the Province, when Mr. Murdoch moved a series of resolutions, in justification of the course pursued by the House

during the whole dispute, which were passed with but little opposition. The appropriation bill having been completed and sent to the Council, they refused to receive it, and thus a revenue to the amount of about twenty-five thousand pounds was lost to the Province. A message was then sent commanding the attendance of the House in the Council chamber, when the session was closed by the President of the Council, the Hon. Michael Wallace, who had been acting in the absence of the Lieutenant Governor, with the following speech: "When I had the pleasure of meeting you here on the eleventh of February for the despatch of the public business, and having nothing of moment to submit to your consideration, I did entertain a sanguine hope, that by your united endeavors and cordial co-operation, the Session would not have detained you long, but I am sorry to find that although more than eight weeks have elapsed, the most important measures of the Province remain in abeyance, in consequence of a difference of opinion on points which have been long established and recognized as necessary, for the salutary and effectual conducting the affairs of a government constituted as ours is."

"Understanding that there is little probability of your accordance in the matters that are pending: under such circumstances I consider it my duty to relieve you from further continuance in service, that you may return to your homes to attend to your own concerns."

After which, the Attorney-General stated, that he was commanded by His Honor to prorogue the Assembly to the first of July next.

On a careful review of the whole proceedings connected with this rupture between the Assembly and the Council, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the Council violated constitutional law in sending back a revenue bill to the House for amendment. Though ninety years have elapsed since the well-known work of Hatsell was

published, it still continues one of the highest authorities in questions relating to Parliamentary privileges. The third volume of the work contains the precedents bearing on the subject in question, and a perusal of them leads to the conclusion that no principle is more clearly established by Parliamentary usage, than that all measures having for their object the taxation of the people, must originate in the House of Commons, and that the Lords have no right, in their legislative capacity, to make or suggest any alterations whatever, except in correction of verbal or literal mistakes. On the twenty-fourth of July, 1661, the Lords sent down a bill for paving the streets and highways of Westminster, to which they desired the concurrence of the Commons, who, on the ground that the bill laid a charge on the people, and that it was a privilege inherent in the Commons to originate such bills, laid the one before them aside, and ordered that the Lords should be made acquainted with their decision, and requested not to suffer any mention of the said bill to remain in the Journals of their House, but that the Commons, approving of the object of the bill, had ordered a similar one to be prepared.

On the seventeenth of May, 1662, the Commons agreed to amendments made by the Lords, and several bills which had the appearance of trenching on the privileges of the Commons; but they ordered an entry to be made in their Journals declaring that the House, after many conferences, did agree to the amendments made by the Lords, to which the House had condescended, not that they were convinced of the Lord's right in this particular, but rather compelled to yield from their care for the public interest, and the necessity cast upon them by the shortness of the session.

On the seventeenth of March, 1770, the Lords amended a bill imposing a tax on foreign brandy, which amendments were considered on the twenty-fourth, when the following entry was made in the Journals:—"Amendments coming

from the Lords to the bill of brandy, which, being for laying an imposition on the people, in breach of the privilege of this House, where all impositions on the people ought to begin; therefore the House did think to lay the said bill and amendments aside."

When as early as the year 1587, the Lords passed a bill for the sale of the estate of one Thomas Handford for a debt due to the crown, the Commons rejected the bill and passed another to the same effect.

Since the revolution of 1688 the Lords had ceased to claim a privilege which the Commons had resisted so frequently, and at the time of the collision between the Assembly of Nova Scotia and His Majesty's Council, it was a settled principle of the constitution, that all charges or burthens on the people must begin with the Commons, and cannot be altered by the Lords.

Much dissatisfaction was expressed in all sections of the country with the Council for the rejection of the revenue bill, and the general feeling was so forcibly evinced in various ways that no doubt could be entertained as to the result of the coming election, which was that all the leaders of the opposition to the action of the Council were re-elected, with the exception of Mr. Beamish Murdoch.

Mr. S. G. W. Archibald was again elected Speaker, and in returning thanks stated his determination to preserve inviolate the privileges of the House.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, in his opening speech, expressed regret at the severe indisposition which had occasioned his absence from the Province during the last session. It had been his painful duty to communicate the death of George the Fourth since his return to resume the government, by which the crown had devolved on His Majesty King William the Fourth. In consequence of these events the late Provincial Parliament had been dissolved, but he had lost no time in directing writs to be issued for the election of a

new Assembly. He feared that this—the month of November—was not the most convenient season to call gentlemen from their homes, but he thought that the public service required an early meeting. He hoped that they would enter upon the discharge of their duties with a disposition to cultivate that spirit of harmony for which the legislature of the Province was long conspicuous, and which had proved so conducive to the best interests of the country.

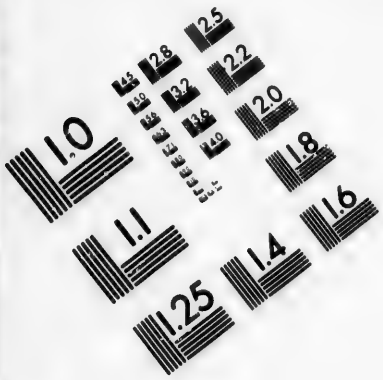
The discussions that followed were conducted with much ability and admirable temper. The revenue bill of last session was much improved by the new House. The duty on coffee and molasses was entirely abolished, and that on sugar reduced; but it was proposed to make the impost on brandy the same as that which had been rejected by the Council. Mr. Chas. R. Fairbanks made a powerful speech in behalf of a change of form and figures, for the purpose of conciliating the Upper House, and thus preventing a second rejection of the revenue bill. "If in private life," he argued, "two gentlemen found themselves in a similar position, what course did good feeling as well as common interest point out? That of meeting half way—that of some small concession by each, otherwise differences could have no end; so it ought to be in the present case where two branches of the legislature must involve themselves in permanent difficulties, by one of them adhering to the identical measure in form and substance which the other rejected. Adopt the present resolution," said the honorable gentleman, "and the shadows which are now darkening over us will soon, I fear, be followed by a night of deeper gloom and disappointment over the whole Province."

The resolution imposing the shilling and fourpence of duty on brandy was moved and seconded, and the House having divided, there appeared for the motion twenty-nine and against it nine.*

*The dissentients were Cavanagh, Uniacke, Barss, Creighton, Johnston, Budd, Deblois, Bliss and Fairbanks.

Much curiosity was excited as to the reception which would greet the measure in His Majesty's Council, but to their credit let it be recorded, that they quietly adopted the bill, returning it with their assent without alteration or suggestion, and thus terminating a dispute which a due regard to the privileges of the Assembly ought to have prevented.

In the year 1830 the Rev. Dr. James McGregor died at Pictou. He was a native of Perthshire, in Scotland, having been born in the Parish of Comrie in the year 1759. His parents were pious, and were said to have dedicated their child to the ministry at his baptism. He attended the grammar school at Dumblane, and subsequently proceeded to Edinburgh to attend the University. Having completed the usual curriculum, he began his regular theological studies under the Rev. Wm. Moncrieff, Professor of Theology to the General Associate Synod. In his twenty-fifth year Mr. McGregor was licensed to preach the gospel. In 1784 the people of Pictou sent a petition to Scotland for a minister who could preach in English and Gaelic. Mr. McGregor was offered the position, and accepted it. The subject of our notice was a firm Seceder, but the Synod informed him that he was sent, not to make Seceders, but Christians. He was ordained in Glasgow in May. On the third of June Mr. McGregor went on board the *Lily*—a brig bound for Halifax, where he arrived on the eleventh of July. The Rev. Mr. Patterson, of Greenhill, gives in his interesting life of Dr. McGregor a graphic sketch of the condition of Nova Scotia when he arrived, and particularly of Pictou county, the scene of his special labors. "Where is the town?" asked the young minister when he arrived at the place where he imagined the town ought to be. On being told there was no town, he was sadly disappointed. "I looked on myself," he wrote, "as an exile from the church and society. I renounced all idea of seeing a town in Pic-



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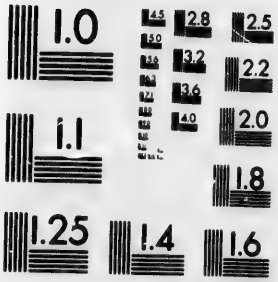

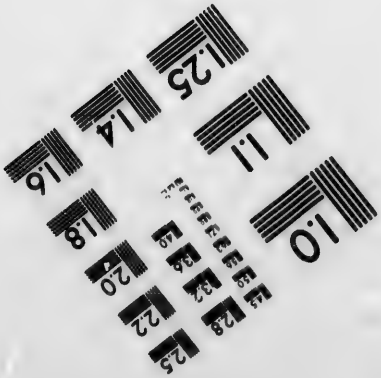

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tou;" but an introduction to Squire Patterson and his lady, who treated him with the greatest kindness, and who rejoiced in the prospect of enjoying gospel ordinances, partially dispelled the deep gloom which had begun to pervade a mind naturally cheerful. His dejection produced unfavorable impression as to his fitness for the ministerial work to which he was called, but when he preached his first sermon, doubt as to his competency seems to have vanished.

The first settlers of Pictou came from Maryland in 1767. Six years afterwards the *Hector* arrived from Lochbroom, with a large number of Highlanders, from whom the great body of the present inhabitants of the county have descended. At the time of Mr. McGregor's arrival the population of the county was only about five hundred souls.

Mr. Patterson, on the authority of a person who traversed the eastern portion of the Province, says that in 1787 there was not one inhabitant on the Cape Breton side of the Gut of Canso, and but one on the Nova Scotia side.

Mr. McGregor visited Truro shortly after his arrival, and preached to the Presbytery, which consisted of the Rev. David Smith, of Londonderry; the Rev. Daniel Cock, of Truro; the Rev. Hugh Graham, of Cornwallis; and the Rev. George Gilmore, of Windsor. This was the first Presbytery formed in Nova Scotia—the first three gentlemen named being from the Burgher Synod. The Presbytery wished Mr. McGregor to unite with them, but this he could not do conscientiously. Hair-splitting in reference to doctrine was a characteristic at this time of Scottish ministers, and Mr. McGregor fresh from the arena of ecclesiastical controversy got up his theological bristles at a moment's notice. The result was a keen and long-continued controversy, in which there was a good deal of Highland ardor exhibited, but which ended in the combatants being good friends.

Shortly after his settlement in Pictou Mr. McGregor received a letter from his friend, the Rev. John Buist, of Greenock, being the first he had from Scotland since his departure. "It contained," he writes, "much news both ecclesiastical and political, and was to me like life from the dead. Looking on myself as an exile from the world, and especially from Scotland, the reading of this letter revived all my tender feelings for my native country, my relatives and friends, especially the ministers whom I left behind. At the same time I had a letter from my father, with the news of my mother's death. Thus I was taught to rejoice with trembling, yet it helped to reconcile me to my lot." That lot was a peculiarly trying one, but the missionary set to work with zeal and vigor. His annual salary was nominally four hundred dollars, and that was not regularly paid. Yet in these circumstances we find the devoted missionary agreeing to pay fifty pounds for the freedom of a girl held in slavery in the Province, handing over for that purpose, twenty pounds of twenty-seven received in money, as part of his salary, for his first year's services!

Mr. McGregor's labors were appreciated in Scotland, and he had the honor of receiving the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Glasgow University. He was a man of masculine intellect, and of respectable scholarly attainments—a sound and earnest preacher, and an honored and faithful servant of the Great Master. It is to be hoped there are few Nova Scotians who have not read the interesting and instructive life of this great missionary by his grandson, the Rev. Mr. Patterson, of Greenhill.

In looking over the newspaper files for the years 1829 and 1830, we find a considerable space allotted to the proceedings of Temperance societies which had been formed in various sections of the Province. In the United States a National Temperance Association had been formed, with branches in every state of the Union—numbering at that

time in all about one thousand. The Rev. Dr. Beecher had published an eloquent sermon on the subject, which was extensively read in the Province, and which seems to have produced a powerful impression. We give the concluding sentence of the discourse. Addressing abstainers, the Rev. gentleman said: "It is to you who can resist the unmanly efforts, guard the insidious wiles, and treat with merited contempt the scoffs and sneers of those who for malice or gain would ensnare or seduce you to abandon your good purposes, or break your solemn resolutions;—it is to you and your vigorous, united, and individual efforts that it will in a great measure be owing whether intemperance, with all its ghastly horrors, shall continue to stalk unabashed through the land, shedding misery and guilt, woe and death in its progress, and resisting and paralyzing every effort to improve the temporal condition, or the moral or religious character of the people—or that deprived of his food, and driven from his lurking places, this hell-born monster should hide his guilty face in darkness, or spread his Dragon wings and fly away for ever." A vast amount of good has been effected through the instrumentality of temperance organizations. During the last forty-five years they have been silently, yet potently, undermining the drinking usages of society, and thus removing one of the principal sources of intemperance.

At the period of which we are treating, steam began to be applied in the Province to the pumping of water from the coal mines, and the propelling of vessels. The General Mining Association introduced the first steam engine into Nova Scotia, in the year 1827. In 1829 the Dartmouth ferry-boat was propelled by an engine of thirty horse-power, but great difficulty was experienced in getting the engine to work well. In the year 1830, a boat, having an engine of similar power, plied between New Glasgow and Pictou. In the same year a steamer, which the newspapers called "The

Great Leviathan of the Sea," and intended to ply between Quebec and Halifax, was being built at the former city. She was to have two engines of eighty horse-power, and was considered the wonder of the age.

In the year 1832 there was in Halifax, what is very much required at present, a Mechanics' Institute, to which a grant was made by the Legislature, and which was for some time conducted with spirit and efficiency. Members of the Institute delivered lectures on magnetism, hydraulics, hydrostatics, friction, comparative anatomy, architecture, history, music, agriculture, and other subjects. In England there are upwards of six hundred of these institutes; and in Scotland about sixty, with a membership of thirteen thousand connected with the latter. There is a most efficient Mechanics' Institute in Leeds, which was founded in June, 1825. By means of exhibitions held in 1839 and 1842 respectively, it became possessed of a handsome building. The Glasgow Institute was founded in 1823. Lectures are delivered on chemistry, natural philosophy, popular anatomy, and other scientific subjects. Connected with all the leading institutes in Great Britain there are evening male classes, where grammar, geography, mechanical and architectural drawing, French, German, and mathematics are taught. The great drawback to the efficiency of these institutions was found in the want of early school training amongst the working classes. That, however, is an evil which is being rectified by means of a system of national education.

In Nova Scotia we have only one or two Mechanics' Institutes. In Halifax we have now a large body of mechanics—and the number is rapidly increasing—for whom no special means of instruction and amusement are provided. We have temperance organizations, which are excellent in their way, but which do not supply the want to which we refer. In all the towns of the Province there is a staff of competent teachers, but no evening classes for the

inst. ıction of apprentices, which would be productive of so much good; no popular scientific lectures by able men, whose services could be obtained on moderate terms, to elevate the intellectual standard of our working men, and thus be an efficient antidote to the evils which want of suitable amusement and recreation is sure to originate and propagate. There is, perhaps, no country of the same population in Her Majesty's dominions in which so many able instructors, in the various departments of knowledge, reside as in this Province.

Mr. George R. Young, son of Mr. John Young (Agricola), took a most active interest in the Halifax Mechanics' Institute. Having been in Great Britain in the year 1833, he visited all the leading institutions of the same kind both in England and in Scotland, and was, therefore, in a position to make suggestions for the more successful conduct of the Halifax Institution on his return. He stated that the main difference between the Halifax Institute and those of Britain was in the system of introductory schools. The progress made by apprentices and others at these schools astonished Mr. Young, and he strongly recommended their adoption, and offered to take the management of one of them.

Our Young Men's Christian Association is admirable, and is in process of more fully answering the purposes for which it is intended, but Mechanics' Institutes must originate with mechanics, be managed by mechanics, and, were such institutes started with spirit they would meet with practical support from good men of all sections of the community.

The year 1832 will ever continue noted in British history as that in which the Reform Bill became the law of the land, by which a vast stride was made in the removal of electoral abuses, and the extension and consolidation of representative government. The measure encountered the most determined opposition in the House of Lords, which was the means of intensifying popular agitation, till it verged on a dangerous

outbreak of popular fury, and the only alternative left to the Upper House was the acceptance of the measure, or such an addition to its membership, through the exercise of the Royal prerogative, as was necessary to secure a majority. Many of the great speeches delivered in both Houses of Parliament were fully inserted in the Nova Scotia newspapers, and eagerly read by the people; and the enlightened sentiments thus propagated prepared the popular mind for the healthy agitation which subsequently led to a radical and wholesome change in the system of Provincial government.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Lieutenant Governor, left finally for England in October, 1832, when the Honorable T. N. Jeffrey became administrator of the Government. Sir Peregrine was an amiable man of refined taste, but utterly wanting in decision of character and administrative capacity. On the departure of His Excellency the following was the amusing but very characteristic benediction of the editor of the *Nova Scotian*: "We wish him a safe and speedy passage to his native country—and if they are not all abolished before he gets there, we could almost find in our hearts, for his amiable lady's sake, to wish him one of the many snug sinecures with which old England abounds!"

The Lieutenant-Governors who are appointed to the colonies consist of two classes, of one of which Sir Peregrine Maitland was a type—either men who are selected simply on account of the influence they can bring to bear on the British Government, independently of suitable qualifications for the office, or men who have proved themselves possessed of the requisite ability to discharge their duties efficiently and with benefit to the country of whose government they are for the time to be directors. Nova Scotia has had governors having a due sense of their responsibility, who no sooner arrived in the Province than they set themselves to study the condition and requirements of the country, and

after due deliberation devised and successfully carried out measures whose beneficial effects have been permanent. The names of these men continue to be mentioned with honor; whilst on the other hand it not unfrequently has been the lot of the Province to have its government committed to officials whose greatest praise has been that they have really been administrative automatons, who did no positive, but a vast deal of negative harm, by occupying a position which might have been filled by men fitted, by experience and natural capacity, for the post. No ruler can pursue a manly course, and stamp his mark on the State whose interests are committed to him, without incurring the enmity of a portion of the people, but a resolute determination to abide by right is sure in the end to redound to his honor, as well as the advantage of the country which enjoys the privilege of his administration. "Let statesmen remember," says Channing, "that while they and their contemporaries live but for a day, the State is to live for ages, and that time, the unerring arbiter, will vindicate the wisdom as well as the magnanimity of the public man, who, confiding in the power of truth, justice and philanthropy, asserts their claims and reverently follows their monitions." A reform much required is being introduced into the departments of the British public service; genuine merit, and not pedigree or family interest is now recognized and appreciated; and so far as colonial governorships are concerned, whilst it must be admitted that mistakes may be occasionally made as to the fitness of the persons selected, yet there can be no excuse, as a rule, in placing ornamental figure-heads in a position where real head and hard work are constantly in demand, as in the case of every such colonial appointment.

CHAPTER XIV.

Opening of Parliament—Speech by the President—Resignation of Chief Justice Blowers—Proposed increase in salaries of the Judges—Debate in the House on the subject—Debate on the currency question—Banking—Opening of the session of 1834—Discussion on the Solicitor-General's resolutions as to the disposal of the revenues—Protest of the people against the bill—Mr. Stewart's attack on the constitution of the Council—Arrival of Sir Colin Campbell—Depression of trade in the Province—Ravages of cholera in Halifax—Convention of Temperance Societies in Halifax—The Governor's speech at the opening of the session—Discussion on the subject of the quit rents—Efforts of the House for the extension of trade—Attack on the Municipal Government of Halifax by Joseph Howe, editor of the "Nova Scotian"—The magistrates sue him for libel—Howe undertakes his own defence—Speech of James F. Gray—Defence of Mr. Howe—The Chief Justice's address to the jury—The verdict—Libel law in Britain—Report of the Educational Committee—Progress of education in the Province—General election of 1836 The contest in Halifax County—Election of Messrs. Howe and Annand—Doyle's resolutions respecting the private deliberations of the Legislative Council—The Council refuse to receive them—Mr. John Young's speech on the action of the Council—Mr. Howe's speech on the constitution of the Council—Debate on Howe's resolutions—Their adoption by the Assembly—The Council asks a rescindment—Mr. Howe moves an address to the Crown—Debate on the motion—Its adoption—The Council present a counter address to the Governor—Discussion with reference to the duration of Parliament—Money voted for the protection of fisheries—Treaty between Great Britain and the United States—Violation of the treaty by U. S. fishermen—Despatch of the Colonial Secretary respecting fees exacted by the Judges—Mr. William Young's speech—Public meeting in favor of incorporating the town of Halifax—Rebellion in Canada—Opening of the session of 1838—Reply of Her Majesty to the address presented

by the Assembly—Formation of the Executive Council—Partiality of Sir Colin Campbell in selecting Councillors—Protest of the House—Close of the session—Lord Durham appointed Governor-General—Is waited upon by delegates from Nova Scotia—His treatment by the British Government, and resignation—Intelligence received of the invasion of New Brunswick from the United States—Patriotic action of the Assembly—Appointment of Mr. W. H. Huntington and Mr. William Young as delegates to London—Reforms effected by their influence—Lord Durham's report on Canadian affairs—It is condemned by the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia—Introduction of steam communication between Great Britain and Halifax—Establishment of the Cunard Line—The Allan Line—Completion of the railway between Albion Mines and New Glasgow.

THE Assembly met early in February. The President, in his opening speech, referred to the absence of Sir Peregrine Maitland, who had faithfully served His Majesty for fifteen years in Upper Canada, and who had now left for England. He congratulated the House on an increase of the number of representatives for the county of Cape Breton, in conformity to the expressed desire of the House, and on the extension of the Free Warehousing Act to the ports of Liverpool and Yarmouth. He alluded to the providential exemption of the Province from the scourge of cholera, which was desolating other regions, and complimented the Central and Local Boards of Health for the fidelity and vigor with which they were discharging their duties.

A few days after the House met the President sent a message intimating that Chief-Justice Blowers, after a service in that capacity of thirty-five years, had resigned, and conveyed the desire of the Home Government that a suitable superannuation allowance should be given him, and appointed Mr. Justice Halliburton as his successor—the place of Mr. Halliburton, as one of the Assistant Judges of the Supreme Court, to remain vacant till the Legislature determined to reduce or continue the number of judges of

which the court had hitherto consisted. In a despatch from Lord Goderich, Secretary of State for the Colonies, which accompanied the President's message, his Lordship called attention to the salaries attached to the judicial offices, which he deemed inadequate, and of which he recommended an increase. At this time the salaries of the Judges were the following: Chief Justice, eight hundred and fifty pounds; Puisné Judges, five hundred and fifty each; Associate Judge, three hundred and sixty; Master of the Rolls, five hundred and forty; Chief Justice, Inferior Court, Cape Breton, four hundred and fifty; the three Judges of the eastern, western, and middle divisions respectively, being paid at the rate of four hundred and five pounds each. In the event of the Legislature not deeming it expedient to reduce the number of judges, Mr. S. G. W. Archibald was to be appointed to the vacant Puisné Judgeship, and his Lordship at the same time expressed his appreciation of that gentleman's zealous efforts in His Majesty's service, and the strong claim they gave him to the favor and countenance of His Majesty's Government.

The debate on that part of the message relating to the judiciary was opened by Mr. Stewart, who moved that the House deemed it expedient to accede to his Lordship's recommendations, and that a committee should be appointed to prepare an address to His Majesty setting forth the willingness of His Majesty's subjects in this Province to contribute, to the utmost of their means, to the support of the Government, when required to do so in the manner prescribed by the British constitution and the usages of Parliament, and humbly praying that he would be pleased to make such an order respecting the casual and other revenues of the Province, now expended without the consent of the House, as would render the application of the same subject to the disposal and control of the House. The suggestions of Lord Goderich met with little favor in the Assembly, and

originated an animated discussion embracing a wide range, in which the threat of the Home Government to collect the quit rents, and their retention of the coal mines of the Province, were severely condemned. On the latter subject Mr. William Young—now Sir William—delivered a speech, which, by the embodiment of facts, and temperate suggestions as to the best means of effecting a radical change, tended to pave the way for the satisfactory settlement of the question, that was effected many years later—to which we shall refer in its proper place.

During the session a long debate took place on the currency question. A perusal of the speeches delivered impresses the reader with a high opinion of the debating ability of many of the members of Assembly, as well as astonishment at the extent of research of which they furnish evidence. A committee was appointed to consider the subject, who reported in the form of a series of resolutions, of which the following are the principal: that all monies payable at Provincial offices, or otherwise, for Provincial duties, be received only in coin or treasury notes; that it is inconsistent with the public safety to permit any notes, whether of banks or individuals, to pass as currency, unless convertible, on demand, into specie at the will of the bearer; that the passing of such notes, not convertible into specie, be prohibited from and immediately after the passing of the bill which is proposed to be introduced on the subject.

While the discussion tended to form a healthy public opinion with respect to the currency, and particularly with respect to the fundamental principle that all bank promissory notes should be payable to bearer on demand in specie, the bill in which the resolutions of the committee, after its adoption by the House, were embodied, was rejected by the Council, who, however, expressed their concurrence in the general principle that a paper currency should be convertible into gold or silver—a principle soon after adopted,

and the universal and legal recognition of which, at present, when banking operations are conducted on so extensive a scale, lies at the very foundation of a healthy currency, and without which that implicit confidence in paper money, so essential to the successful conduct of these establishments, as well as to the legitimate extension of commerce and manufactures, could not exist.

Previous to the formation of the Halifax Banking Company, in the year 1825, Provincial notes were the principal circulating medium, in which the business of the country was transacted. These notes were not convertible into specie, but their value was not called in question, and they constituted a loan to the people without any interest. No inconvenience was sensibly felt from the absence of a metallic reserve. When the projectors of the Bank of Nova Scotia applied for a Charter in 1832, they were required, under the pressure brought to bear in the Legislature by parties interested in the Halifax Banking Company, to make a deposit in specie and Provincial notes to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, as well as to make their notes payable in solid coin under a heavy penalty. When the time came for the payment of deposits by the stockholders, they found little specie, and few Provincial notes in circulation. Hence they had recourse to the notes of the Halifax Banking Company, in order to procure the necessary medium. A run on the bank was the natural consequence, which it sustained by payment of inconvertible treasury notes, which became depreciated, and thus a crisis was produced—proving that a bank note circulation cannot be permanently sustained without diminution of value, except by payment on demand in current coin.

In opening the session of 1834, the President stated that His Majesty having been made aware of the desire of the people of Nova Scotia to have the management of the revenues, and anticipating a formal application on the subject,

had authorized him to express his readiness to place the casual and territorial revenue at the disposal of the Provincial Legislature, on their agreeing to make a permanent provision for the public servants whose salaries had been hitherto paid from the funds he was disposed to surrender, or from Parliamentary grants which were discontinued. His Honor, accordingly, a few days after the opening of the session, sent a message to the house, with an extract of a despatch from E. G. Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which he replied to an address to His Majesty reported to the House of Assembly, and of which the discussion was to be resumed in the present session.

The Secretary expressed his satisfaction with the address as evincing, on the part of the House, an earnest desire to meet the views and wishes of His Majesty in regard to the financial concerns of the Province. By the expression of such a feeling, the arrangement which he proposed to recommend to the Legislature had become comparatively easy, and he had every reason to expect that the proposal which he had to make, and the details which he should proceed to explain, would receive their ready concurrence. His Majesty had been advised to surrender absolutely the whole of the revenues of the crown, taking in exchange a moderate civil list. The amount of revenue thus placed in the hands of the Assembly would be four thousand pounds, as rent of coal mines for the next three years, and commutation of the Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary's fees which would amount to six hundred pounds. The amount derived from the sale of lands he had not the means of ascertaining, but he estimated the whole amount placed at the disposal of the Assembly at five thousand pounds. The civil list required in return included the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor—three thousand five hundred pounds, and that of the Secretary one thousand pounds. The remainder of the civil establishment, and such services as had been defrayed by His Majesty from funds at his own disposal, was to be provided henceforward by the Assembly. The Colonial Secretary also expressed His Majesty's inclination to receive with satisfaction any arrangement which might relieve him from the necessity of enforcing his just right to the quit rents, and his readiness to surrender this branch of the revenue to the Provincial Parliament, on the single condition that they should make an adequate provision for the permanent support and independence of the judicial establishment of the Province.

The Solicitor General brought the message under the

notice of the Assembly, and, in a long and elaborate speech, moved a series of resolutions with the view of committing the House to the acceptance of His Majesty's proposal as to the revenue of the Province, and the maintenance of the officers of the civil department. He proposed that the salary of the Chief Justice should be twelve hundred pounds; of the Attorney General, six hundred; the Solicitor General, two hundred; the assistant Judges of the Supreme Court, seven hundred each; the Master of the Rolls, seven hundred and fifty; the first Justice of Cape Breton, four hundred and fifty; and three justices of Common Pleas and Presidents of Sessions, three hundred and fifty each. Besides his salary it was proposed that the Chief Justice should be allowed the usual travelling expenses and certain fees. The scheme with certain modifications was embodied in a bill which was read a first time—allowing one thousand pounds sterling to the Provincial Secretary, besides five hundred pounds as Registrar, a hundred pounds as Clerk of the Council, and four hundred pounds for clerks and contingencies; the allowance of the Governor being fixed at two thousand five hundred pounds. The publication of the scale excited general indignation, as being utterly disproportionate to the extent and financial circumstances of the Province. The people of Halifax presented an ably drawn up and numerously signed petition against the scale of salaries, and many counties protested strongly against the adoption of the bill, the further consideration of which was deferred till next session.

During the session of 1834, Mr. Alex. Stewart made a vigorous attack on the constitution of His Majesty's Council, moving three resolutions having for their object to open the doors of the Council to the public during its deliberations, to reform that body by an increase of its members by additions chosen from the country, and to divest it of executive powers. Though the discussion did not lead to an

immediate practical result, yet it prepared the public mind for important changes in the constitution of the Council, which were subsequently effected.

On Tuesday the first of July, 1834, Major General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., arrived in Halifax, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, when the administration of President Jeffrey, which had lasted for eighteen months, was terminated.

At this period business was exceedingly depressed in the Province, arising mainly from two successive deficient harvests, and derangement of the currency by the almost unlimited circulation of inconvertible paper, on which the public were obliged to sacrifice nine pence in the pound. Goods and property of all kinds were much depreciated in value. Fish which brought in the previous year fifteen shillings per quintal, were sold in the present year at ten shillings and sixpence. Several important bankruptcies occurred, and a dark cloud overshadowed the mercantile community.

The gloom was intensified by the appearance of cholera in Halifax, early in the month of August. The newspapers of the fourteenth of that month reported several cases in the poor house. The plague, which had been at first confined to the upper streets, the poor house and the barracks, soon extended to other portions of the town. In three weeks after the introduction of the disease into the city the rifle brigade lost twenty-nine men, forty deaths having occurred in the poor house during the same time; the total deaths during the period stated having been one hundred and three. On the removal of the Rifle Brigade to Bedford only two cases occurred in the regiment, shewing the extent to which the propagation of the scourge was owing to atmospheric influences. On the fourth of September one hundred and eighteen cases were reported as under treatment, the highest number of deaths in one day being

eighteen. On the eleventh of September, one hundred and fifty-four cases were reported, twenty-three deaths having occurred on the previous day. The weather had now become cool and bracing, and there was, by the favor of God, a diminution in the number of persons affected, which continued steadily, so that on the twenty fifth of September, only thirty-eight persons were under treatment; one death only occurring on that day. By the second of October the disease had almost entirely disappeared, the Board of Health having passed the following gratifying resolution on the twenty-seventh of September: That from the improved state of the health of the town, the small number of patients lately sent to Dalhousie Hospital, and the few cases now remaining, the Board deem it unnecessary to continue their daily reports, and should no other cases occur they hope to discontinue the hospital establishment after Monday next.

During the prevalence of the disease a considerable number of families left the city, and country people ceasing to bring their produce to market, the streets on Saturday mornings were unusually quiet.

On the eighth of September, 1834, died the Rev. William Black, the father of Methodism in Nova Scotia; a man of eminent piety and apostolic zeal. He was a native of Huddersfield, in West Yorkshire, and was born in the year 1760 of highly respectable parents. His father designing to emigrate to America with his family, deemed it prudent to visit the intended land of his adoption before removing thither with his family. He accordingly crossed the Atlantic in the spring of 1774, and purchased land at Amherst, in the County of Cumberland, returning to England in the following autumn, and emigrating with his family in the spring of 1775. When twenty years of age, Mr. Black began to preach. Having been invited to Tantramar to address the people, the meeting was broken up by a party of soldiers

who had been sent for that purpose by the commander of the garrison, in consequence of complaints lodged by the church minister. Mr. Black, and upwards of twenty others were made prisoners, but were soon set at liberty, as no charge implying a violation of any known law could be brought against them. This impertinent and illegal interference with the religious liberty of the subject, had the contrary effect of that intended. The report of military prohibition of the preaching of the gospel spread rapidly through the country, exciting general indignation, and the young preacher became more popular than ever. The zeal with which Mr. Black labored in the Master's service, is indicated by one short sentence which occurs in an account which he gives of a missionary tour in the Province: "It is now eight days since I left this place, in which I have preached EIGHTEEN times, and, excepting two meetings, I know not a single occasion on which it was not evident that many who heard the Word were melted into tears, if they did not cry aloud for mercy." On one occasion, when he preached in Halifax, "The conduct," says his able biographer, the Rev. Dr. Matthew Richey, "of some present was extremely irreverent. While Mr. Black was citing the words, 'Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none on the earth beside Thee!' he was interrupted by an impious man in terms too revolting to be repeated. Emboldened by an example so unworthy of imitation, a few individuals, glorying in their shame, attended the meeting the following night, prepared with gunpowder crackers, which they threw into the fire. The confusion produced by their explosion ever and anon was increased by their shouting, 'You'll not preach long—the pressgang is coming.' Their opposition was impotent. For their rage and contumely, the preacher returned patience and pity."

Here we intended to introduce a clever production from the pen of Mr. Black, being "an address by Beelzebub to

his liege subjects of the township of Halifax," which sparkles with quaint humor, and gives a more correct idea of the mental calibre of the man than would half a dozen of sermons, but our limited space will not admit of its insertion.

Mr. Black corresponded regularly with the Rev. John Wesley, whose letters to him are perfect gems both in expression and sentiment.*

William Black was a preacher of the gospel for half a century, and died at the age of seventy-four, as he had lived, full of faith and hope. His last words were: "*All is well!*"

Contemporary with Mr. Black was the Rev. Henry Alline of Falmouth, N. S., whose name is perhaps as familiar to the Christians of Great Britain as to those of Nova Scotia. He was a man of no scholastic culture, but of remarkable natural talent. In awakening the most torpid audiences to a sense of the realities of the religion of Christ, perhaps, he has not been surpassed in modern times. But his dogmatic self-sufficiency and uncharitableness sadly marred his usefulness. He had high notions of his own infallibility, and did not scruple to denounce all who ventured to question the scriptural character of some of his opinions. Mr. Black, satisfied that Mr. Alline was a good man, did all he could to live on terms of Christian friendship with him, but in vain.

In the month of October a temperance convention was held in Halifax, attended by about thirty delegates representing the various temperance societies in the Province. The chair was occupied by Mr. John Leander Starr, Mr. Edmund Ward being appointed secretary. The convention continued in session several days, during which interesting reports

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* See Memoir of the late Rev. William Black, Wesleyan minister, Halifax, N. S., by Matthew Richey, D.D.

were presented conveying information as to the origin, progress and present condition of the societies represented. In an address presented to the Lieutenant Governor soliciting his patronage to the movement, the delegates stated that they represented fifteen thousand of His Majesty's loyal subjects in the Province. The address concluded with the following passage: "Were it necessary to urge anything further on your Excellency's attention, we might advert to the direful effects of intemperance so fearfully developed during the prevalence of the cholera in this town, and the universally acknowledged fact that its influence is strong in perpetuating and cherishing the existence of that dreadful scourge where it has once appeared." His Excellency said in reply that he should consider himself unworthy of the position to which His Majesty had appointed him if he did not, by every means in his power, give his support and countenance in forwarding the laudable objects of the temperance societies represented by the delegates.

The Assembly met in November, when the Lieutenant Governor delivered a speech of more length than was customary, and in which topics that had agitated the Province for some time were discussed. He expressed His Majesty's regret that the offers made to the House at the commencement of the last session respecting the surrender of the revenue belonging to the Crown had not been more favorably received, and as the variety of views entertained on the subject, and the difficulty of adjusting opinions appeared to forbid the hope of any satisfactory agreement, he had in consequence received His Majesty's commands not to repeat the offer of surrendering the casual and territorial revenues, in exchange for a permanent civil list. He intimated His Majesty's determination to collect the quit rents, unless the Assembly felt disposed to make, in lieu of them, a permanent grant to the Crown of two thousand pounds sterling a year. Should the Assembly deem it desirable so to commute them,

it would be the means of freeing the landowners from the payment of a rent of nearly triple the amount, the collection of which might prove inconvenient; but should they deem that inexpedient, there was no choice left but to comply with his instructions, and order their immediate collection. His Excellency added that it would be a source of gratification to him if, at the commencement of his government, he was enabled through these means to extricate his administration from the difficulties with which it was at present threatened.

The subject of the Quit Rents having been taken up in the House, a spirited discussion ensued in which Mr. John Young and Mr. Stewart were the principal speakers, and which resulted in the adoption of a resolution granting to His Majesty a yearly sum of two thousand pounds for the surrender of the Quit Rents—a bill in accordance with which was passed, providing that the sum should be specifically applicable to the payment of the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor or Commander-in-chief for the time being.

Very decided if not enlightened views with reference to the extension of trade were held by the Assembly, and efforts were made to increase the number of ports into which vessels laden with foreign productions could be admitted. The only ports in the Province into which such vessels could legally enter in 1832, were Halifax, Pictou and Sydney. Under the denomination of warehousing ports Liverpool and Yarmouth were added to the number, a privilege to which the extent of their traffic certainly entitled them. At this period shipping was employed at Liverpool to the extent of twenty-five thousand tons. Yarmouth had a tonnage of thirty-seven thousand—the official value of its exports and imports being upwards of eighty one thousand pounds. As Lunenburg employed one hundred and sixty-seven vessels, with a tonnage of six thousand five hundred and sixteen, and Windsor exported one hundred and twenty thousand tons of gypsum to the United States, it was by the

House considered a grievance that into these ports no vessel could enter with her return cargo, without having previously entered the harbors of St. John and St. Andrew's—the only ports in the Bay of Fundy into which British vessels could enter from foreign ports with articles of foreign growth, produce, or manufacture, and both in the Province of New Brunswick. Arichat also, with its exports of forty thousand quintals of dry fish, twelve thousand barrels of dry fish, thirteen hundred barrels of oil, and owning two hundred and twenty vessels, was excluded. The Assembly addressed His Majesty, repeatedly urging the propriety of opening the ports mentioned, as well as others, to British vessels carrying foreign produce, but the proposition was strenuously opposed by the Council.

On the first of January, 1835, appeared in the *Nova Scotian*, of which Mr. Joseph Howe was proprietor and editor, a letter signed "The People," in which the magistrates and police of the city were accused of having, during the lapse of thirty years, taken from the pockets of the people by means of various exactions and fines the sum of thirty thousand pounds. One magistrate was accused of abstracting from one establishment, "dedicated to the poor and destitute," at least three hundred pounds yearly, and the writer boldly stated that for the last thirty years two hundred pounds were paid daily in fines of which, the writer sarcastically remarked, as much went into the royal coffers as might be expected were the long dormant quit rents imprudently revived! "Is it not known," said the writer, "to every reflecting and observant man, whose business or curiosity has led him to take a view of the municipal bustle of our courts of session, that from the pockets of the poor and distressed at least one thousand pounds are drawn yearly, and pocketed by men whose services the country might well spare." The writer concluded by a comical allusion to the physiognomy, martial tread and manly mien of Sir Colin

Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor, in which he discovered the features of the late Sir John Sherbrooke, expressing his conviction that if the inward man corresponded, there was yet some hope for "The People." This amusing epistle created no small sensation throughout the country, and the magistrates resolved to bring an action for libel against Mr. Howe, founded on the letter in question. The Attorney-General, S. G. W. Archibald, accordingly wrote with much apparent gravity in the following terms to Mr. Howe: "I am called upon in my official capacity to institute a prosecution against you for the publication of an article signed, "The People," in the *Nova Scotian* of the first January last, containing very gross charges against the magistrates of Halifax; and, as it is my intention to proceed against you in the ensuing term, I have deemed it proper to give you this notice that you may be prepared for trial in the same term." This letter Mr. Howe published, stating that their worships might gain a victory, but that he should be mistaken if they bore their banners unsullied from the field.

As the result of the action depended on the verdict of a jury, Mr. Howe acted wisely in undertaking his defence himself. He judged shrewdly that the question "ought to turn on no mere technicality or nice doctrine of law, but on those broad and simple principles of truth and justice to which an unpractised speaker might readily appeal, and which an impartial jury could as clearly comprehend." The case was opened by Mr. James F. Gray in an exceedingly temperate speech. He said that when the letter which constituted the ground of indictment was published the accused applied to the Governor, praying that such a course should be adopted as would bring the matter before a court of justice. The application was transmitted to the Attorney-General. That officer had in virtue of his office more power than any other advocate, and might adopt either of two courses: he could have filed an *ex-officio* information on behalf

of the Crown, which, without any preliminary inquiry, would place defendant on his trial, or lay the charge before the Grand Inquest of the county. The latter found a bill, and now Mr. Howe stood his trial as he would for any other criminal offence. As regards public persons, such as magistrates and other functionaries, the law considered a libel a higher offence than when committed against private individuals. Mr. Gray concluded by saying that the counsel for the prosecution were contending against the popular side of the question, but that juries in Halifax had always done justice between parties uninfluenced by such considerations, and that whatever their verdict might be he should be satisfied.

Mr. Howe began his address by referring to the peculiar circumstances in which he appeared before the jury, entreating them to believe that no ostentatious desire for display had induced him to undertake the labor, and responsibility of his defence, but he felt that if the press was to be subjected to such a series of prosecutions as this one, it was indispensible for the safety of those who conducted it that they should learn to defend themselves. He thanked Heaven and their ancestors that he did not stand before a venal and corrupt court, and a packed and predetermined jury to contend against these horrible perversions of the constitution and the law, by which justice and common sense were formerly outraged, and by which many an innocent and virtuous man had been cruelly condemned. Formerly in cases of libel, instead of the jury being called on to give a general verdict, founded on their own view of the law and the facts, they were directed to determine only whether the matter in question had been published by the party arraigned; and if it had, the judge assumed his guilt, and a wicked minister often awarded the punishment; but he thanked God those days were past. Such a prostitution of judicial power could never occur again under the shadow of British law, for no jury within the wide circle of the Empire would submit to such an infraction of their privileges, even if a judge could be found daring enough to attempt it. If the magistrates had dared to have brought the action in such a form as to make evidence admissible, he would have sent them out of court in a worse condition than Falstaff's ragged regiment.

Mr. Howe then asked what motive he could have in attacking a body in the ranks of which were some of his own relations and friends, and which embraced some of the leading men of the principal families in Halifax,

whose support and countenance might be of essential service—whose enmity it would be unpolitic, if not highly injurious to provoke. He then presented a picture of the ludicrous conduct of his accusers, in marching into court and reading a resolution in which they expressed their anxiety that Mr. Joseph Howe should be allowed to adduce evidence to substantiate the published charges, whilst they knew perfectly that such procedure as the calling of witnesses was in the circumstances impossible, and that his Lordship dared not, for his head, vary the rules of law by which the issue was to be tried. It appeared to him as if they had loaded a field-piece, presented it at the heart of their foe, whom they had tied to a stake, and having lighted the fuse, gravely took off their hats, and making a very polite bow, begged that it would not go off till he had got behind his wall. "But," said Mr. Howe, "I hope to put them in the situation of the unfortunate Irishman, who, to prevent the explosion, crammed his wig into the muzzle, and give them 'a hoist with their own petard.'"

To the charge contained in the indictment that he was greatly disaffected to the administration of His Majesty's Government in this Province, and wickedly, maliciously and seditiously contriving, devising and intending to stir up and excite discontent and sedition among His Majesty's subjects, he replied with great effect by reading from the file of the *Nova Scotian* articles which had emanated from his pen, and which breathed the most devoted loyalty to the British Throne, as well as warm attachment to the British constitution. He then directed attention to the mode in which the poor and county rates had been levied for many years, and proved that the accounts were kept in such a scandalous manner that no human being could unravel them, and that the grossest irregularity and partiality were evinced in their collection.

Mr. Howe then referred to the management of Bridewell, which was under the control of the magistrates, and amused the jury and the audience by a description of the manner in which its business was conducted. He next alluded to the poor asylum, in relation to which it had been expressly enacted that no commission should have any profit or emolument whatever by furnishing supplies. "Some of the members of the sessions had thought," said the accused, "that they could alter this law as they wished to alter the law of libel, for in the face of that section was it not matter of noteriety that for years the principal part of the supplies for the poor house passed through a certain store, that nearly all the flour and meal passed through a certain mill, leaving of course an abundant grist behind." The abuses of the police regulations were next exposed with unsparing hand, and the question put to the jury, "now, gentlemen, upon a calm survey of this case can you find me guilty of a malicious libel?"

Mr. Howe, towards the end of his address, which occupied six hours in the delivery, quoted eminent authorities in law tending to show that the jury were bound to judge of his conduct according to the motives by which he was actuated, as determined by the facts which he had laid before them. "Gentlemen," he said, "I feel that your verdict will rescue me from the perils with which I have been environed. You will not deliver me over to the tender mercies of the sessions. You will tell these jobbing justices that they should have come into court with clean hands, that they should have set their house in order—their poorhouse and their workhouse, before they came to claim a verdict to repair their rotten reputations."

After Mr. Howe had finished his address the court adjourned till next day when the Attorney-General, Mr. S. G. W. Archibald addressed the jury in a speech, from which it may be inferred, that whilst believing that the letter under the signature "The People" was in law a libel, yet that it contained more than a spice of truth. Chief Justice Halliburton, in charging the jury, said: "In my opinion the paper charged is a libel, and *your duty is to state by your verdict that it is libellous.*" With due deference to his Lordship we may be permitted to say that he abrogated his function as a constitutional judge, and assumed that of an imperious dictator when he instructed the jury to return a verdict of guilty. His duty as judge was to expound the law, leaving the jury to determine as to the correctness of his deductions, and the bearing of the facts. If it be the duty of juries to return verdicts, according to the opinions of presiding judges, then their Lordships are *de facto* juries as well as judges, and the functions of the former are simply nominal, an English jury being no longer "the most refreshing prospect that the eye of accused innocence ever met at a human tribunal," but an organized sham.

The jury, in this case, without hesitation, returned a ver-

dict of *not guilty*, which was received with unbounded popular satisfaction.

In his defence, Mr. Howe was allowed a degree of latitude, which would not be permitted to a professional advocate, and the style as well as matter of his speech could not have been better adapted for a jury. The trial possesses historical interest, as securing permanently in this country the freedom of the press. The matter of the letter in which the action originated was clearly actionable, and if the charges could have been substantiated, would have rendered the publisher liable to heavy damages, if the mode of trial admitted of their imposition, or, as in the case in question, in the event of an adverse decision, to severe punishment by imprisonment.

Till the decisions of Lord Mansfield and Mr. Justice Buller in the celebrated trial of Dr. Shipley, the Dean of St. Asaph, the functions of juries in libel cases were not well defined. In consequence of the anomalies of these decisions — undoubtedly justified by precedent—and the masterly exposure made by the greatest forensic advocate that ever graced the English bar—Thomas Erskine—Mr. Fox framed a libel law, whose provisions implied that the decisions of the eminent judges named—although correct according to legal usage—were unconstitutional; an opinion which was approved by the British Legislature, the bill becoming law, and providing that on the trial of an indictment or information for the making or publishing any libel, where issues are joined between the king and a defendant, on the plea of not guilty pleaded, it be competent to the jury impanneled to try the same, to give a general verdict of guilty or not guilty *upon the whole matter in issue, and that they shall not be required or directed by the court or judge*, before whom such indictment or information shall be tried, to find the defendant guilty merely on the proof of the publication by such defendant of the paper charged to be a libel, and of the sense

ascribed to the same in such indictment or information. This admirable act which has been in force for upwards of sixty years, and by which the presiding judge is required to state the law, and give his opinion as to its bearing on the case, but which vests with the jury the ultimate decision, has been regarded so complete that no alteration or amendment of it has been proposed since it became the law of the land. The argument of Erskine, in the King's Bench, in support of the right of juries, is the noble pedestal on which the act rests, and one which will endure as long as the British constitution, constituting a monument to the genius of the man whose services it commemorates more durable than an Egyptian Pyramid.

An education committee, of which Mr. John Young was chairman, and consisting of a member from each county, presented an interesting report to the Assembly during the session of 1836, in which we have a glimpse of the condition of the Province at that period as to educational advantages. In 1832 an Act was passed for the encouragement of common and grammar schools, conducted on the precarious principle of voluntary subscriptions by the inhabitants, within the different school districts—the Province not being yet deemed in a condition to assume the burden of maintaining a system of elementary instruction by an equitable assessment on the population To the honor of the inhabitants of Middle Musquodoboit they were the first in the Province to appreciate the advantages of a general assessment for the support of schools, for they sent a petition, which was referred to the Committee, urging the House to impose an educational tax on means and property. The number of schools in the Province, in 1835, was five hundred and thirty, and the aggregate number of scholars attending, fifteen thousand. The amount raised for educational purposes in Halifax county was, in 1835, one thousand pounds; Colchester gave fifteen hundred; Annapolis, East and West,

two thousand pounds; Yarmouth and Argyle, twelve hundred pounds; Lunenburg and Cumberland, one thousand pounds each. The sum collected by the people of Pictou county is not stated, but it sent the largest number of scholars to school of any county, except that of Annapolis, being upwards of two thousand; Colchester sent eleven hundred; Kings, one thousand; Annapolis, two thousand; Yarmouth and Argyle, sixteen hundred, and Lunenburg, twelve hundred. The entire amount raised by the people, in 1835, for educational purposes, by voluntary contributions, was twelve thousand four hundred pounds; and the sum paid from the Provincial Treasury, for the same object, was six thousand eight hundred pounds. Those figures present a record highly creditable to the Province, showing that the people were beginning to appreciate the advantages of early educational training, and anxious to prepare the way for the introduction of the comprehensive system which, at a later period, was introduced, and which, it is hoped, will be maintained with ever increasing efficiency.

The House of Assembly having been dissolved, in 1836, in virtue of its term having expired, the election took place in November of the same year. Mr. Joseph Howe and Mr. William Annand were nominated along with Mr. Willian Lawson, Sen., and Mr. H. A. Gladwin as representatives of the County of Halifax. Mr. Howe delivered his first electioneering speech at a public meeting in the city, basing his title to support on his continued antagonism to existing abuses—exorbitant salaries to Government officials, unaccountability of the magistracy, and the secret legislation of His Majesty's Council, who, despite repeated remonstrance, closed their doors against the press and people during their deliberations. Mr. Annand was not present at this meeting, but published a short address to the freeholders, in which he stated his desire that the casual and territorial revenue should be under the control of the Provincial Legis-

lature; that means should be adopted to increase internal communication between the commercial, fishing, and agricultural portions of the country; that a more efficient school system should be introduced, so that the advantages of education might be extended to all classes of the community; that the term of the duration of Parliament should not exceed three years; that Legislative encouragement should be afforded to agriculture, the fisheries, and domestic manufactures, and that the strictest economy should be introduced into every department of the public service.

Both Mr. Howe and Mr. Annand were returned for Halifax County, and the following prominent gentlemen connected with the previous House were also returned: Messrs. Herbert Huntington, S. G. W. Archibald, Alexander Stewart, John Young, James B. Uniacke, and Wilkins. Mr. Wm. Young was also returned without opposition by the County of Juste Au Corps, now designated Inverness. The election contests were enlivened by a tilt between John Young and S. G. W. Archi[illegible]—several letters addressed by Mr. Young to Mr. Archi[illegible], and published in the *Nova Scotian*, being the most polished and powerful specimens of electioneering invective we have ever perused.

Shortly after the opening of the session, Mr. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle moved a resolution to the effect that the practice of the Lesiglative Council of excluding the people from their deliberations, was not only at variance with that of the House of Lords in England, and that of several of the Legislative Councils in the other British North American Colonies, but contrary to the spirit of the British Constitution, and injurious to the liberties and interests of the country—that while the House had no desire to deny to the Upper branch of the Legislature the right enjoyed by the representatives of the people, and sanctioned by public opinion, of closing the doors during the discussion of questions of order and privileges, and on occasions when

the public interest might require secret deliberations, yet they should fail in their duty if they did not express to the Council the conviction of their constituents, that the system of exclusion pursued for a number of years, and still pertinaciously continued, was fraught with much evil, and had a tendency to foster suspicion and distrust; that the House was prepared to provide for the expenses incurred for the accommodation of the public in the Council Chamber; and that the clerk should convey the resolutions of the House to the Council, and request their concurrence. The resolutions passed unanimously, and a committee was appointed to convey them to the Council. That body declined to hold any conference with the committee on the subject, as they regarded the action of the House as a breach of the privilege of the Council, and a violation of the Parliamentary usage which prohibits one House from interfering with the internal regulations of the other. The Council contended in a message sent to the Assembly, that the British Constitution does not confer a right on any person to be present at the deliberations of any branch of the Legislature of which he is not a member—that the only mode of gaining admission to the House of Lords is by obtaining special permission from a member of that House, which may be either granted or refused at the pleasure of the person to whom the application is made. It was, therefore, obvious that such admission must be granted simply as a courtesy, but not claimed as a right. The Council admitted that the two Houses of Parliament refrained from enforcing the standing orders which precluded strangers from being present at the debates. They would consider the subject, and come to such a decision in reference to it as should be most conducive to the public interests. The Assembly having dispensed with the services of a chaplain, the Council regretted that their deliberations were now to be conducted without offering up their united supplications for the aid

and guidence of Him from Whom all good counsels proceed; but deeply as they deplored this, they felt that they had no right to interfere, and alluded to the subject only to show that if such interference of one House with the regulations of another could be vindicated, Her Majesty's Council might be more justified in reminding the House of Assembly of the duty of adhering to the ancient and Christian practice of daily and unitedly imploring the Divine Blessing, than the Assembly could be in wishing the Council to adopt a practice new in this country, and which, nowithstanding its many advantages, had its attendant evils wherever it had been introduced.

On the message of the Council being submitted to the Assembly, Mr. John Young moved resolutions to the effect—

That in passing the resolutions which had been presented to the Council in reference to the exclusion of the public from the deliberations of the Council, the House had no intention of violating any of the privileges of the Council, or improperly interfering with their internal regulations;—that the House deemed it their duty, as representing the wishes and feelings of the people, to express temperately the general dissatisfaction which prevailed against exclusion from the Council chamber, and to point to the practice of the House of Lords as in that respect worthy of imitation in this colony;—that while the House were anxious to convey this expression of their opinion, they guarded against all disrespectful language in their communication to the other branch, and adopted the method of conference as being the least objectionable which the rules of Parliament recognized;—that whether the admission of strangers was to be regarded as an act of courtesy or not, it was undeniable that neither branch of the Legislature in England would be justified in that rigid system of shutting out the people from their debates and proceedings, in which the Council had persevered, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the people and resolutions entered in the journals of the Assembly in 1834 and 1836;—that the House, in dispensing with the personal attendance of a chaplain, was actuated by the consideration of the impropriety of selecting always for this duty a clergyman of the English Church, in connection with the difficulty of choosing another without giving cause of offence, and on that ground the House had decided to commit themselves to the prayers of the pious and faithful generally, and besought all the clergy in the public administra-

tion of religion to implore the divine blessing on their labors, that these might be so directed as to promote the peace, happiness, and prosperity of this favored portion of the British Empire.

After Mr. Young had concluded his address, Mr. Howe delivered a long and masterly speech on the general structure and conduct of the Council, submitting twelve elaborately drawn up resolutions as an amendment to those of Mr. Young. These resolutions may be regarded as a manifesto, and we shall endeavor to present, as nearly as possible in the words of their author, the leading ideas they contain:

In the infancy of the colony its government was necessarily vested in a Governor and Council, and even after a representative Assembly was granted, the practice of choosing members of Council exclusively from the heads of departments, and persons resident in the capital, was still pursued, and with a solitary exception had been continued till the present time. The practical effect of this system had been in the highest degree injurious to the interest of the country, inasmuch as one branch of the Legislature had been generally composed of men who, from want of local knowledge and experience, were not qualified to decide upon the wants of distant portions of the Province, by which the efforts of the representative branch were in many instances neutralized. Among the proofs that might be adduced of the evil arising from the imperfect structure of the Council, it was only necessary to refer to the unsuccessful efforts of the Assembly to extend to the outports the advantages of foreign trade; to the large sum which it was compelled, after a long struggle, to resign for the support of the Customs establishment; to the difficulties thrown in the way of a liberal system of education, and to the recent abortive attempt to abolish the fees taken by the judges of the Supreme Court. At the last census of the population taken in 1827, the membership of the Episcopal Church was twenty-eight thousand, and that of the Dissenters one hundred and fifteen thousand; yet the appointments to the Council were mainly made from the members of the Episcopal Church, so as to secure to that body a decided majority at the Board. There were now in the Council eight members representing the Church, whilst the Presbyterians, who were much more numerous, had but three representatives, and the Roman Catholics—a large body—had but one representative; the Methodists and Baptists being entirely unrepresented. The Bishop of the Episcopal Church was a member of Council, whilst the Roman Catholic Bishop, and clergymen of all other denominations were excluded. The result of this state of things was a general and injurious system of favoritism and monopoly, extending almost through

every department of the public service, over which the Local Government had no control, thereby vesting in the hands of a part of the population the resources arising from the industry of the whole, and creating invidious distinctions and jealous discontent in the minds of a large number of His Majesty's subjects.

Two family connections embraced five members of the Council. Till very recently five others were co-partners in one mercantile concern, and to this circumstance might be attributed the failure of the efforts of the Assembly to fix a standard of value, and establish a sound currency in the Province. The Assembly had for years asserted their right to control the casual and territorial revenues of the country, whether arising from the fees of office, the sale of lands, or the royalty paid upon the produce of the mines; but their efforts to obtain justice had been unsuccessful. The lands of the Province were in effect mortgaged to pay to the Commissioner a salary out of all proportion to the services he was called upon to perform, while all the mines and minerals of the Province had been leased for sixty years to a wealthy English Company without the consent of the representtives of the people. The presence of the Chief Justice at the Council Board was unwise and injurious, having a tendency to lessen the respect which the people ought to feel for the courts over which he presided. From the warm interest he had always felt in public questions, and particularly in some of those in which the representative branch and the Council had been diametrically opposed, and from the influence which his position gave him over a numerous bar he had generally been regarded as the head of a political party, and frequently brought into violent conflict with a people imbued with the truly British idea that judges ought not to mingle in the heats and contentions of politics. The evils arising from the structure of the Council, and the disposition evinced by some of its members to protect their own interests and emoluments at the public expense, were rendered more injurious by the unconstitutional and insulting practice still pertinaciously adhered to by that body of shutting out the people from their deliberations—a practice which was opposed to that of the House of Lords in England, of the Legislative Councils of Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and persevered in notwithstanding the murmurs and complaints of the people, and the repeated representations and remonstrances of the Assembly.

In England, the people by one vote of their representatives could change the Ministry, and alter any course of policy injurious to their interests, but here the Ministry are His Majesty's Council, combining legislative, judicial and executive powers—holding their seats for life, and treating with contempt or indifference the wishes of the people, and the representatives of the Commons. In England the representative branch could compel a

redress of grievances by withholding the supplies. Here they had no such remedy, because the salaries of nearly all the public officers being provided for by permanent laws, or paid out of the casual or territorial revenues, or from the produce of duties collected under the Imperial Acts, a stoppage of supplies, while it inflicted a great injury on the country by leaving the roads, bridges and other essential services unprovided for, would not touch the emoluments of the heads of departments in the Council, or of any but a few of the subordinate officers of the Government.

As a remedy for these grievances it was suggested to pray His Majesty to take such steps—either by granting an elective Legislative Council, or by such other reconstruction of the local government as would ensure responsibility to the Commons, and confer on the people of the Province—what they valued above all other possessions—the blessings of the British constitution.

The message of the Council which had been sent to the Assembly by their deputy clerk, was regarded with much indignation and gave rise to an acrimonious discussion. Mr. Howe said that the Council dare not continue to exclude the people from their deliberations.

"I cannot but feel, sir," he said, "that this insulting message is another proof of the proverb that whom God wishes to destroy, he first makes mad." Mr. Wilkins said that when the declaration of the honorable member had found its way through the press it would be impossible for the Council, maintaining the dignity of their position as an independent branch of the Legislature, to come to a decision which would have the appearance of a concession to the menaces of the House. He trusted that having, by their resolutions, expressed the will of the public on the impropriety of keeping the doors of the Council shut, they would not recede from the position taken, but at the same time would have too much regard for constitutional principles to entertain the idea of obtaining their desire by force or violence. Mr. William Young had read with the utmost astonishment the message of the Council. He stood there ready to vindicate, not the party expressions which might have escaped the lips of individual members, but every act for which the House was responsible, and which stood recorded on its journals; and he would appeal to every man of sound sense and prudence to attest the sufficiency of the vindication. He came there to reform many flagrant abuses, but prepared for no rash and violent charges —he came not to excite the public temper but to advocate constitutional improvements. He vindicated the action of the House as respectful to the other branch of the Legislature, and wished the message to lie on the table for a few days till the House could form a cool and dispassionate opinion.

The debate which took place on the resolutions proposed by Mr. Howe, was a long and animated one, but they were ultimately passed, with certain modifications which it is unnecessary to specify. The Council, stung by the proceedings of the Assembly, sent, on the fifth of March, another message, in which they drew attention to a resolution on the journals of the House, in which it was declared that the members of His Majesty's Council had evinced a disposition to protect their own interests and emoluments at the expense of the public. They hoped the House would rescind this resolution, as the Council felt that if they were to continue to hold communication with the House while that resolution remained unrescinded, they would justly forfeit their self-respect, as well as the respect and confidence of the public. It therefore now remained with the House of Assembly to prevent any interruption of the public business by adopting the course recommended.

This message created a profound sensation, and when the House met next day, the lobby was filled to overflowing, and the doorways leading from the committee rooms crowded with eager listeners. Mr. Howe rose and said that they had now arrived at a point, which he had to a certain extent anticipated, from the moment he had sat down to prepare the resolutions.

In dealing with an enemy who was disposed to take them at a disadvantage, it was necessary that, like politic soldiers, they should fight the foe with their own weapons. The Council asked to have a particular resolution rescinded, he was prepared to give them more than they asked, and to rescind the whole. This done, they could not refuse to do business, and the revenue would be secured, but he should follow that motion with another, for the appointment of a committee to draw up an address to the Crown on the state of the colony. He said truly that the resolutions had done their work—they had elicited the opinion of the House, and told wholesome truths to the Governor, the people, and the Council. They would go home to the Colonial Office and their language could not be mistaken. Mr. Wilkins was opposed to the resolution now submitted. The resolutions at first agreed to by the House were either right or wrong—

if right, they ought, if they had any regard for the character of the House, to adhere to them firmly, regardless of consequences, because if, being impressed with that conviction, they suffered them to be rescinded, they insulted their constituents, and cast an indelible stain upon the character of their representatives—let them not think of so absurd a step as rescinding all the resolutions. Mr. Uniacke said that when the resolution which had led to the present crisis was proposed, he had offered an amendment to it, which, if it had been adopted, would have saved the House from the embarrassing position in which it now stood. The debate ended by Mr. Howe's resolution, for the appointment of a committee to prepare an address, being carried by twenty-eight to fourteen. An address, embodying the facts and agreement contained in the original resolutions, was accordingly prepared and adopted by the House. As it was customary for the whole House to wait on the Governor in important cases, they did so on the present occasion, when His Excellency stated that he would transmit it to the Principal Secretary of State for the colonies, to be laid at the foot of the Throne; we shall see with what result at a more advanced stage of the narrative.

In order if possible, to counteract the impression which the address of the Assembly was sure to produce on the Home Government, the Council determined to frame a counter-address to the Governor in reply to it, accompanied with observations on that of the Assembly. To the complaint that members of Council were chosen almost exclusively from the heads of departments, and from persons resident in the capital, they replied that the Chief Justice, the Bishop, the Collector of Customs, and the Collector of Imposts were now the only public officers at the Board, and that nearly twenty years had elapsed since the last was appointed, the eight junior members being all gentlemen unconnected with the government by any other office.

The opposition which the Council offered to the extension to the outports of the benefits of foreign trade, was based on the conviction that the measure would have the effect of counteracting the provisions of the Act of the Imperial Parliament for regulating foreign trade—of facilitating smuggling, diminishing the Provincial revenues, injuring fair trade, increasing the expenses of the Customs department, and operating injuriously on British and Colonial shipping. The Council professed ignorance of what the Assembly meant in stating that difficulties had been interposed

to the introduction of a just and liberal system of education, though they must have been aware that the allusion was evidently to the obstructions which, from year to year, they cast in the way of making adequate provision for the maintenance of the Pictou Academy, in direct and defiant opposition to repeated votes of the House of Assembly. The Council had deferred the consideration of the bills sent by the House to abolish the Chief Justice's fees, because they could not legislate on a subject which, if brought under their consideration at all, should have been brought before them in their judicial, and not in their legislative capacity. All the Chief Justice's predecessors had received these fees, except for two years, during which commutation was given for them to that officer of law out of the public treasury, and no provision was made in these bills for any such commutation. To the complaint that while Dissenters in the Province were much more numerous than the members of the Church of England, nine Churchmen were members of the Council, and only three Presbyterians and one Catholic—leaving the numerous body of Baptists and others altogether unrepresented—the Council stated that they were not the representative branch of the legislature, and if they were, it would be a new principle of representation to classify all the religious sects of the country, and apportion the representatives who were to compose a legislative body, according to the relative number of each. The language of liberality had recently been, that men should be selected for the discharge of political duties without reference to their religious creeds; but this liberality, it appeared, must not be extended to the members of the Established Church. The Council were confident that, with the exception of the Bishops, who rarely attended their meetings, not one gentleman had been called to the Council on account of his being a member of the Church of England, but solely because the Governor for the time being thought him an eligible person. To the complaint that the Bishop of the Established Church had a seat at the Council Board, they replied that the Bishop was, *ex officio*, a member of the Council by the appointment of His Majesty, because that Church, with its liturgy, and rites and ceremonies, was introduced into the Colony, at its first settlement, by the Royal instructions, and was afterwards established by law, in the first session of the first General Assembly convened. It was true that two family connections comprised five members of the Council—two of them however, were unconnected with the other three; and the journals of the House would show that those who are so connected differed with each other in opinion quite as often as any other members.

With regard to the complaint that five members were co-partners of one Banking establishment, it was to be observed that one of them was a member of the Council before that co-partnership was formed; another

was a merchant extensively concerned in business, who was shortly after called to the Board to fill a vacancy at a time when there was only one other commercial member of the Council. To the objection made to the Chief Justice being a member of Council, as tending to lessen the respect which the people ought to feel for the Courts over which he presides, the Council could not agree in this opinion. On the contrary, they thought that the tendency was quite the reverse. Nor, if he were removed, could they see who could be selected with equal advantage to preside over their deliberations. It was essential for a member of the legal profession to hold that situation, and the Council thought none could be supposed more free from objection than a person who was at the head of the judicial establishment of the country, and who was every day in the habit of expounding the existing laws. The Chief Justices of the Province had been Presidents of the Council since its formation. The present Chief Justice had for twenty years combined the offices of judge and councillor, and no instance had been adduced, even in the debates upon this address, of his ever having allowed political feeling to bias his judicial decisions. The usage was in strict analogy with that of the House of Lords, and of all the Legislative Councils in America, and so far was it from being the case that all judges ought to be excluded from the legislature, that at this very time the Justices of the Supreme Courts in England had seats in the House of Lords.

To the objections made to the appointment of the Collector of Customs, to the Council board, it was alleged that his knowledge of the laws relating to the trade of the Empire, with which he was necessarily familiar, rendered him a most valuable member in the discussion of all fiscal questions. With regard to the Collector of Excise, there were not the same forcible reasons for his having a seat at the Board, solely on account of his office, but the Council respectfully submitted whether it would be just to exclude from the Board a gentleman of his respectability in public and private life merely because he was, in the language of the day, an officeholder.

The Council felt the embarrassment of thus advocating the continuance of their own body, with all its executive and legislative powers, and they therefore, in conclusion, observed that the greater part of the members now composing it were selected from the community, and summoned to the Council board without any solicitation on their part. A large majority of them were unconnected with the Government by any office, and although not insensible of the honor conferred upon them by their Sovereign when he called them to his Council, they were quite willing to retire into private life whenever he should deem it right to dispense with their services; but while they retained their seats they were urged by a sense

of duty to vindicate their own character—to preserve the rights of the body to which they belonged, and to give their opinions respectfully and explicitly to His Majesty's Government, on a subject so deeply affecting the interests of all the King's subjects in his Province of Nova Scotia.

The Governor in answer to the address stated that he had received it with peculiar satisfaction, as since the administration of his Government they had, both in their executive and legislative capacities, discharged their duty with the desire to promote the public good. Being of that opinion, he should have great pleasure in forwarding to the Secretary of State for the Colonies the observations which accompanied their address, with a request that they might be laid at the foot of the Throne, at the same time with the address of the House of Assembly.

In the meantime, the Council had prudently resolved to make alterations in the Council chamber for the accommodation of persons desirous of hearing the debates—thus reluctantly and ungracefully conceding what it ought to have granted long ago without any legislative or popular pressure.

During the session of 1837, a long discussion took place in regard to a bill introduced for the purpose of limiting the duration of the Provincial Parliament to four years, instead of seven. The bill passed in the Assembly, but was rejected by the Council, but became the law of the land in the year following. During an animated discussion on the question Mr. Young remarked that the first act passed in England on the subject was in the reign of Edward the Third, by which it was determined that "a Parliament should be holden once a year, or oftener if need be." Annual Parliaments were the rule till Henry the Eighth, when that capricious and tyrannical monarch introduced the practice of long Parliaments. In the year 1694 a bill was passed adopting the triennial principle, which was acted upon till the rebellion of 1715, when a Parliament convened under the triennial act prolonged by statute its own existence to

seven years; thus, said Mr. Young, "taking advantage of the terrors of that unhappy period to establish a most unjustifiable invasion of the rights of the people." The Parliament, we would observe, had undoubtedly a constitutional right to prolong its own sittings in the critical condition of the country occasioned by the invasion of the Chevalier St. George—the interference with the people's rights consisted in the passing of a law by which the septennial principle was *permanently* established.

In 1837 loud complaints were made by the fishermen of Nova Scotia against the infringement of existing treaties by the citizens of other nations—particularly those of the United States and France. Representations were made by the Assembly to His Majesty's Government on the subject, and five hundred pounds were voted for the purpose of arming small vessels, to protect the fishing interests of the Province.

Since the discovery of Nova Scotia fishing has been prosecuted on its coasts. The fisheries of Newfoundland had been open to all nations from the settlement of the island until the time of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who claimed sovereignty under the right of original discovery—the fisheries of Nova Scotia continuing long to be the subject of altercation between the British and French governments. On the peace of 1783, a treaty was entered into between Great Britain and the United States, by which liberty was granted to the latter to fish on the Grand Bank, and all the other banks of Newfoundland, also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but not to dry or cure fish on any settled bay, harbor or creek of Nova Scotia, the Magdalen Islands and Labrador, but as soon as any of them were settled this liberty was to cease, unless continued by agreement with the inhabitants. It required no prophet to fortell that the latitude thus granted would prove almost equal to the cession of all the privileges enjoyed by the Nova Scotian fishermen on their own shores.

The war of 1812 put an end to this injurious arrangement, and a memorial was forwarded to the Home Government in the following year, praying for the exclusion of foreign fishermen from the shores of the Province. Protracted negotiations followed between Great Britain and the United States as to the fisheries, ending in the convention of 1818, which conceded privileges to the latter power, against which the people of Nova Scotia energetically and justly protested. The only consolation left to the fishermen of the Province, was the exclusion, by the convention, of foreigners from ground within three marine miles of the head lands of the coast. The fishermen of the Province complained that notwithstanding this prohibition, those of the States purchased bait from the inhabitants, set their nets in the harbors of the Province, and in other respects violated the convention.

During the session of 1837, a despatch was received by the Lieutenant-Governor from Lord Glenelg, in reply to representations made by the Assembly during the previous session, as to the fees exacted by the Chief Justice and the Puisné judges. Whilst his Lordship refrained from discussing how far the original establishment of these fees was consistent with the constitution, he regarded their commutation on two occasions by the Assembly, as involving a recognition of their legality. Considering this fact, in connection with the circumstance of their uninterrupted receipt during fifty years, His Majesty could not accede to the proposal of an immediate and uncompensated abolition. In the discussion of Mr. Howe's famous resolutions respecting the constitution of the Council, the subject of the fees was collaterally referred to, when Mr. William Young expressed his deliberate opinion that their exaction, though sanctioned by long usage, was not legal.

Towards the close of the year 1836, a crowded public meeting was held in the Exchange Coffee House for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature for an act of incorpo-

ration for the town of Halifax. The speakers were Messrs. Forrester, Bell, M. Tobin, Howe, Alexander McKenzie, Robert Lawson, George R. Young and Joseph Jennings. We present an epitome of the complaints made against the existing system of municipal management—that the mode of assessment hitherto adopted to defray the enormous current expenses of the town, and the injudicious application of the taxes thus raised were highly objectionable; that the local officers having the control of the taxes were appointed by the general Government; that the public property was also in the hands of persons appointed by the Government, and not therefore so well managed as it ought to be—the local taxes being much higher than those of other towns of equal population, and that the town accounts were annually passed without being audited. Mr. Howe brought his artillery effectively to bear on municipal corruption, and the loud notes of complaint and indignation which proceeded from the meeting in the Exchange Coffee House, proved the death knell of the system. Bad, however, as the system was, it found advocates in the House of Assembly.

The year 1837 was one of great commotion in Canada. Some of the reformers, stung by the reluctance of the British Government to grant the changes in the constitution of the Legislature which both justice and policy demanded, rose in rebellion against the parent State. The movement was condemned by the great majority of the Canadian people, and met with no sympathy in Nova Scotia, where public meetings were held to express attachment to British connection.

The Assembly met in January, 1838. The Lieutenant-Governor, in his opening address referred to the death of William the Fourth, and the accession to the throne of his niece, the Princess Victoria. He had satisfaction in informing the Legislature that the insurrection in Lower Canada had been extinguished, and that the traitorous attempt to

separate Upper Canada from Britain had been signally defeated by the gallant conduct of the militia, without other military assistance. He was glad that these rebellious proceedings had called forth in the Province the strongest expressions of indignation and abhorrence, and that the addresses presented to him declared the unshaken attachment of the people of Nova Scotia to Her Majesty's person and government.

Since the last session the Governor had received most important despatches from Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, copies of which he laid before the House of Assembly. Lord Glenelg expressed satisfaction with the circumstance that the House had rescinded the resolutions they had adopted on the state of the Province, and was happy to perceive that the resolutions were rescinded on the motion of the gentleman who had originally proposed them.

With reference to the question raised by the Assembly whether the Chief Justice should retain his seat in the Council, it was Her Majesty's pleasure that neither the Chief Justice nor any of his colleagues should sit in the Council—the principle to be borne in mind, and practically observed was that all the Judges, including the Chief Justice, should be entirely withdrawn from all political discussions, and from all participation in the measures of the Local Governments, or of any persons who might be acting in opposition to it.

In another despatch, of more recent date, Lord Glenelg, in reference to representations by the Assembly, said that the claim of the Assembly to control and appropriate the whole of the public revenue arising in the Province, was frankly admitted by the Queen in the comprehensive and specific form in which that claim was preferred.

His Lordship regarded the introduction of capital into the Province by the Coal Mining Company as a material compensation for any injury which the inhabitants might have

sustained by the creation of the Mining Company's interest. On the supposition of the Province having been injured by the transaction, the error would now be repaired to the utmost possible extent by placing the rents and royalties at the disposal of the Provincial Legislature.

The Assembly having deliberately expressed their opinion that the welfare of the Province would be promoted by creating two Councils instead of one, Her Majesty deferred to their judgment on that question, not, indeed, without some distrust as to the soundness of the conclusion, though convinced that it was a topic on which the greatest weight was due to the advice of the representatives of the people. The Lieutenant-Governor was instructed to send to the Secretary of the State for the Colonies, a list of the names of such gentlemen as might appear best qualified to compose the Legislative and Executive Councils of Nova Scotia. His Excellency had suggested that all the members of the present Council should belong to one or other of the new Chambers. To this his LordsLip objected, feeling it his duty to make that selection which he had reason to believe would be least open to just exception, and would afford the most satisfactory proof of the desire of Her Majesty to entrust the duties to gentlemen entitled to the confidence of the great body of the inhabitants. But the omission of gentlemen who were members of the present Council, evinced no intention to subject them to reproach or discredit. To avoid any such suspicion Her Majesty had been pleased to intimate her desire that they should retain their present rank in society on retiring into private life. Of the Executive Council not more than a fourth were to be public officers; the members were to be drawn from different professions, and different parts of the Province, and they were to be selected, not only without reference to distinctions of religious opinions, but in such a manner as to afford no

plausible ground for the suspicion that the choice was influenced by that consideration.

In selecting men for the Executive and Legislative Councils, Sir Colin Campbell, so far from acting in strict conformity with the explicit instructions he had received, appointed seven churchmen to the Executive Council, and ten to the Legislative—there being thus a clear majority of churchmen over all other denominations in both Councils. To this gross violation of the spirit of the royal instructions, Mr. Howe called the attention of the Assembly, and intimated his determination, in the event of no other member moving in the matter, of submitting resolutions on the subject. In the meantime, the Lieutenant-Governor had received a despatch intimating the appointment of Lord Durham as Captain-General of the Province, and requiring immediate alterations in the construction of the Councils—the Executive being limited to nine, and the Legislative to fifteen members. The newly formed Councils were thus dissolved, and the Session suddenly terminated, previous to which, however, the following resolution was adopted: That a Committee be appointed to wait on the Lieutenant-Governor, and to express the regret of the House that the liberal views of Her Majesty's Government, as conveyed in the despatch communicated to the Assembly, have not been carried out in the late appointments to the Legislative Council; and a Committee was in the meantime appointed to correspond with Lord Durham, and, if necessary, to proceed to Quebec for the purpose of conferring with his Lordship, who was now Governor-General, on questions relating to the interests of the Province.

In a few days the new Session was opened, and the business of the House resumed. An address to Her Majesty was proposed and adopted, with slight modifications by the House, reflecting on the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor in the matter of appointments to the Legislative Council,

but which was sweetened by the sentence that most of the evils complained of had arisen from causes that existed before His Excellency came to the colony, and it would be expecting too much to require that they should be removed in a single year under the most impartial administration. Sir Colin, however, did not relish the action of the Assembly, and in closing the session said, that it was both his duty and inclination to give the fullest effect to his instructions, but that the House must first make provision for the payment of the Legislative Council, in a similar manner as they paid themselves, before individuals could be induced to come from the country and give their time and labor to legislative duties. It was impossible to give satisfaction to all. Some persons were no doubt dissatisfied that they were not named to the Council; but as he was responsible to Her Majesty for the selection he had made, he should firmly resist any attempt to encroach on the Royal prerogative, or to influence him in the fulfilment of his duty.

Lord Durham soon after his appointment as Governor-General of British North America, resigned his post in consequence of attacks made upon him in the British Parliament by Lord Brougham and others. Delegates from the Lower Provinces, headed by the Hon. Mr. Johnston, of Halifax, waited on his Lordship by invitation, for the purpose of conferring in reference to matters affecting the prosperity of the Provinces. In referring during the interview to his treatment by the British Government, who had deserted him, he was overcome by his feelings, and had to retire for a little to a distant part of the room. The grievances which the delegation complained of were set forth in a communication addressed by Mr. William Young, as one of the deputies, to Lord Durham—the principal being the administration of the Crown Lands, the systematic encroachments of the Americans on the fisheries, the expense of the Customs establishment, the large salaries of some of the

officers of Government—the Secretary of the Province having one thousand pounds sterling a year, besides holding the lucrative office of Registrar of Deeds, and the composition, as amended, of the Executive and Legislative Councils.

During an interesting debate in the Assembly, the astounding intelligence was received that New Brunswick was invaded from the State of Maine. A simultaneous burst of indignation broke forth from the Assembly. All business was instantly suspended—all party divisions forgotten, a numerous committee appointed, and the House adjourned for a few hours that suitable resolutions might be framed. The House on resuming business voted one hundred thousand pounds, and put eight thousand men of the militia at the disposal of the Commander-in-chief to meet the emergency. Multitudes thronged the avenues to the House, and greeted the resolutions with enthusiastic ardour. At this time Great Britain and the United States were on the very verge of war, which, however, was happily avoided.

During the session of 1839, the Assembly appointed two delegates, Mr. Herbert Huntington and Mr. William Young, to proceed to England to represent to Her Majesty's Government the views and wishes of the House, and of the people of Nova Scotia with respect to certain proposed reforms; and the Legislative Council appointed as delegates from that body the Hon. Alexander Stewart, and the Hon. Louis M. Wilkins to defend the old system of government.

On the arrival of the delegates of the Assembly in London, they had an interview with Lord Normandy and Mr. Labouchere, when they submitted an address from the Assembly to Her Majesty, and certain resolutions adopted during the last session. The delegates carried on a voluminous correspondence with the Colonial office, Treasury, Board of Trade, Post Office and Customs. The following concessions were made through the advocacy of the delegates: Cumberland, Parrsboro', Windsor, Shelburne and Lunenburg

were declared free ports. The Customs and Excise departments were combined, so that all duties might be collected at the Customs, and the necessity of double entries, bonds and securities be dispensed with. By this latter improvement about fifteen hundred pounds a year were saved to the Province. The annual grant of fifteen hundred pounds for the support of the Post Office department was not to be required—leaving the Assembly to provide for any further extensions that the exigencies of the country might demand. A bill was prepared by the delegates regulating the granting of lands which was sanctioned by the Government, by which all actual settlers were to be allowed to purchase land as low as one shilling sterling per acre.

On his return to England, Lord Durham submitted to Parliament his celebrated report on Canadian affairs—one of the ablest State documents bearing on colonial policy ever produced. A series of resolutions condemnatory of it were passed by the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia—one of them being the following: That a federal union of the British North American colonies would prove an extremely difficult if not an impracticable measure; that the experiment, if practicable, would be eminently dangerous to the interests of the mother country as well as those of the colonies; that its tendency would be to separate the colonies from the parent state, by imbueing the rising generation with a fondness of elective institutions, to an extent inconsistent with the British constitution, that it would involve the lower colonies which are now contented and peaceable, in the political discussions of Lower Canada, and add greatly to their local and general expenditures, without producing any adequate benefit to them, to the Canadas, or to the Empire at large.

During the years 1838 and 1839 some of the public men in the Province were most energetic in their efforts to secure steam communication between Halifax and Europe. While

at Bristol in the spring of 1838, Judge Haliburton called on Captain Claxton, the Secretary of the Bristol Steam Packet Company, and subsequently attended a meeting of the owners of the *Great Western*, who expressed their readiness to put boats on the direct line to Halifax, provided Government would make a grant for the carriage of the mails. Mr. Henry Bliss and Judge Fairbanks put forth efforts in the same direction. Mr. William Crane, of New Brunswick, being in London in the summer of 1838, where he met Mr. Howe, they addressed a letter to Lord Glenelg, in which they pointed out the advantages which would result from steam communication between England and the Maritime Provinces. All uncertainty as to the intentions of the Government were removed in the following year, when they made an arrangement with the Hon. Samuel Cunard for the carriage of the mails between Halifax and the Mother Country—Halifax and Boston, and Pictou and Quebec. For this service Mr. Cunard was to receive fifty-five thousand pounds sterling yearly, and according to contract the boats were to be ready on the first of May 1840. On receipt of the intelligence a public meeting was held in Halifax, at which a resolution was passed expressive of public satisfaction with Mr. Cunard's remarkable enterprise, by which his character as a merchant was elevated, and the reputatian of his being a benefactor to his native country justly earned.

So early as 1830 the establishment of steam communication between Britain and North America was projected by Mr. Cunard, who, in the prosecution of the undertaking, was introduced to Mr. Robert Napier by Mr. Melville, secretary in London to the East India Company, and through whom he entered into conference on the subject with Mr. George Burns and Mr. David McIver in Glasgow. James and George Burns were enterprising merchants in that city, who entered into partnership with the late Hugh Matthie of Liverpool—the firm becoming owners of six sailing vessels

in the year 1824, and at the same time engaging in steam navigation between Glasgow and Belfast. In the year 1830 the Glasgow firm joined that of the Messrs. McIver of Liverpool. The consultation between Mr. Cunard, Mr. Burns, and Mr. McIver led to the establishment of the Cunard Line. The contract of the conveyance of the North American mails was entered into by the Admiralty and these gentlemen. The first steamer of the line was the *Brittania*, which sailed from Liverpool for Halifax and Boston on the fourth of July 1840. The service was commenced with four paddle-wheel steamers. Now the Company has a fleet of about fifty afloat, or in course of construction, some of them over four thousand tons burthen, the aggregate tonnage of the whole being about ninety thousand tons. For upwards of thirty years the communication has been sustained by the Company between Liverpool, New York and Boston—at first once a week, then twice a week, and latterly three times a week. During that long period, in which hundreds of thousands of passengers have crossed the Atlantic, not a vessel or a life has been lost, and the mails have been conveyed with almost undeviating regularity and safety. The business is now conducted by William Cunard, formerly of Halifax, now of London; John Burns and James Cleland Burns, the sons of George Burns, and Charles McIver, of Liverpool, who are the sole partners of this immense concern.

Here it may not be regarded as inappropriate to refer to the celebrated and admirably managed Allan Line. The weekly service between Liverpool and Quebec was commenced in 1858. When the late war with Russia broke out the steamers of the Allan line were chartered by the English and French governments for the conveyance of troops and stores to the scene of the conflict. From the year 1859 to the present time the service between Liverpool and Canada has been continued—a subsidy being granted by the Canadian government for the carrying of the mails. The first two

vessels on the line were of about fifteen hundred tons, but as the trade was developed, steamers of larger size and greater power were supplied—the majority of them having been built by the well-known, and long established firm of Robert Steel & Co., Greenock. The Allan Company was the first to appreciate the value of "covered in" decks, which have been now almost universally adopted. This improvement subjected them to additional dues, till the *London* foundered in the Bay of Biscay, when the Board of Trade were impressed with the advantages of the "covered in" plan, and placed the company on a level with others as to the dues exacted. The Allan fleet consists of about twenty-four of the finest steamers, and the company by their enterprise and effective management have conferred inestimable benefits on the British North American Provinces, in the facilities afforded for intercommunication between them and Europe, and the stimulus thus given to commerce and immigration.

In 1839 the railway between the Albion mines and loading ground below New Glasgow was finished, and the first locomotive engines ever erected in Nova Scotia were employed upon it. There was a feast in celebration of the event at which upwards of two thousand guests sat down, a Nova Scotia newspaper remarking, that on the occasion, there was not an unemployed fiddle or bagpipe from Cape John to the Garden of Eden.

CHAPTER XV.

Biographical sketches of S. G. W. Archibald, Thomas C. Haliburton, Charles R. Fairbanks and Hugh Bell.

Among the able men of the period of which we are now treating, Samuel George William Archibald particularly distinguished himself, for under many disadvantages he raised himself to the highest rank in the Legislature, and a learned profession. Mr. Archibald was born at Truro, on the fifth of February, 1777, and was the fifth child of Samuel Archibald, son of Major David Archibald, by his wife Rachel Todd. In the year 1760, about sixty families, chiefly Irish Protestants, emigrated from New England to Colchester county. Of the number were James, Thomas, Samuel and David Archibald from Londonderry, New Hampshire. As early as 1763, Justices of the Peace were appointed and militia organized in the township. David Archibald, grandfather of the subject of this notice, was the first justice as well as the first militia officer in Truro. He is known and is now spoken of as Major David Archibald. He was one of the earliest representatives of the township in the General Assembly of the Province. As a magistrate he was impartial, but extremely excentric in his administration of justice. It was no uncommon thing for him to cane offenders with his own hands. Having found two boys belonging to the settlement stealing apples on a Sunday from his garden, he locked them in his cellar. At their parents' request he set them at liberty, but on the condition that the boys should be brought before him on Monday, when he tied them to one of the trees from which the apples had been taken, and caned them himself.

Some time after Mr. Archibald's appointment as a justice, two others were associated with him in the commission of the peace, when Captain

John McKeen, an early settler, was heard to say in the publichouse, that there were one hundred magistrates in Truro. That cannot be, said a by-stander, for there are scarcely that number of men in the place, when Mr. McKeen bet a pint of brandy that his assertion was correct, and asked the party challenged to name the justices, and he would count them. David Archibald was first counted when McKeen said, "one." The second squire of the village was then mentioned, when McKeen said, "you don't call him a magistrate, put him down as a cypher." The third and only remaining justice of the peace was then referred to, when McKeen said, "he is no better than the last, consider him as naught, and I have my hundred; and now for the brandy."

While yet a lad, S. G. W. Archibald lost his father on the island of Neves, whither he had gone as supercargo or owner of a freight, and his mother was thus left a widow, in comparatively poor circumstances, to rear a family of six children. Many years afterwards, in addressing his constituents at Truro, at a time when his official position required residence in Halifax, he did not deem it beneath his dignity to refer to this period of his life. "I look forward," he said, "to that time as the greatest pleasure of my life, when I can come and live with you again where my mother nursed me in her adversity." While still young, his grandfather, Major David, took him to bring him up, and found him a troublesome youth to train. Little "Sammy" was much given to play and jokes. His jokes not unfrequently evinced remarkable cleverness, but were sometimes of such a practical nature as to bring him in contact with his grandfather's cane. On one occasion his love for mischief caused a more severe punishment. One morning he espied a litter of pigs by Archibald's Mill, near where a Baptist chapel has since been built. To humor a sudden thought he set the mill in motion, caught one of the pigs, and put it over the water wheel, and in so doing was taken over himself, by which operation he had two or three limbs broken. He often referred to the circumstance in after life, and spoke of himself as "having gone through the mill." On one occasion an old Scotchman replied, "Ye're nane the waur o' that, Sammy—there's bran in ye yet." When he had grown towards manhood, he left his grandfather, and went with some others to Upper Stewiacke to commence a farm on his own account. He soon found that making a farm out of green wood was for him no congenial pursuit, and threw down the hand-spike, with the determination to follow some calling more in accordance with his taste. Shortly afterwards we find him a student in Andover; then for a time at Harvard University, where he laid the foundation of a store of useful knowledge, which, with his natural genius, brought him rapidly into notice in another calling.

On returning to Nova Scotia Mr. Archibald studied law in the office of

the late Mr. Roble, and on the sixteenth of April, 1805, was admitted an attorney and barrister of the Supreme Court. In 1806 he was returned to the House of Assembly as one of the members for Halifax county, and continued to represent the town till 1835, when the county was divided into Halifax, Colchester and Pictou counties, from which time till his appointment as Master of the Rolls and Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1844, he was returned as county member for Colchester.

In 1824 Mr. Archibald visited England where he was well received. The Marquis of Lansdowne was so much taken with his masterly address and brilliant wit that he offered him a seat in Parliament for the Borough of Calne, and was desirous that he should accept it, if only for three months, to let the people of England see how polished an orator Nova Scotia could produce. Mr. Archibald's reply was characteristic, and showed his good sense—"No," your Lordship; I am head of one House of Commons, and will never become the tail of another."

While in England he was appointed to the office of Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island, and received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Glasgow.

He returned to Truro on the evening of the sixteenth November, 1824, where his arrival was welcomed by a splendid bonfire, and the discharge of guns at intervals until a late hour. On the following day an address was presented to him by a numerous and respectable body of the inhabitants, congratulating him on his safe return to the Province, and his appointment to the Chief Justiceship of Prince Edward Island. At first the Island newspapers announced his appointmeut as "that of the well known and highly respected barrister of Nova Scotia," but when the appointment was confirmed they referred to it in terms of no measured condemnation. On Sunday, the twenty-ninth of November, 1824, Mr. Archibald arrived at Charlottetown, and next day took the usual oaths, and assumed the duties of his new office, which he performed for some time with great credit to himself, and much to the satisfaction of the people of Prince Edward Island.

In the year 1841, Mr. Archibald received the appointment of Master of the Rolls for the Province of Nova Scotia. He was presented on the 23rd of August of that year, a few days after his arrival at his country residence at Truro, with an address signed by the magistrates, clergy, members of the Bar, freeholders and others of Colchester to the number of about 900 persons. The address was expressive of the gratitude entertained for his services during his long political connection with the county, and of pleasure and satisfaction at his promotion, to which his Honor made a suitable reply. From this time till his death he resided in Halifax. He performed the duties of his last office, associated with the position of Judge of the

Court of Vice Admiralty, for more than four years, with much ability—his decisions giving general satisfaction. He died in Halifax on the 28th of January, 1846, in his sixty-ninth year. There is a monument erected to his memory in one of the cemeteries of the city, with both a Latin and English inscription.*

One of the most eminent literary men British North America ever produced, was Thomas Chandler Haliburton, M.P. He was born at Windsor in December, 1796. He was descended from an ancient Scottish family of the same name. In the reign of Queen Anne, a branch of the family emigrated to Boston, whence the grandfather of Mr. Haliburton removed to Windsor at the time of the revolution. The subject of this notice was the only child of the late Hon. William Otis Haliburton, a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, N.S. Mr. Haliburton commenced his education at the grammar school of his native town, and completed it at the University of King's College in Nova Scotia. The hero of Lucknow, Sir John Inglis, K.C.B., was one of his fellow students. Mr. Haliburton was a distinguished student; he excelled in composition, and carried off a number of prizes. After leaving college he devoted himself to the study of law, and in due time became a barrister. After a visit to England he practiced at Annapolis Royal, the former capital of his native province, and commanded a good practice. He represented the county of Annapolis in the Legislative Assembly, of which he became a useful and prominent member. The late Mr. Howe spoke of him to the writer as a polished and effective speaker. On some passages of his more elaborate speeches, he bestowed great pains, and in the delivery of them, Mr. Howe, who acted in the capacity of a reporter, was so captivated and entranced, that he had to lay down his pen and listen to his sparkling oratory. It is doubtless to one of these passages that Mr. Beamish Murdoch refers when in his history he characterises it as the most splendid piece of declamation to which he had ever listened. When only thirty-two years of age, Mr. Haliburton received the appointment of Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, which he continued to hold till the year 1840, when his services were transferred to the Supreme Court. He resigned the Judgeship in 1856, and removed to England.

It was in the year 1829 that Mr. Haliburton first appeared as an author, when his History of Nova Scotia was published by Mr. Howe. For this excellent work he received the thanks of the House of Assembly. Though the volumes do not contain any indications of the genius of the author, yet

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* This interesting sketch of Mr. Archibald has been taken from an admirable prize essay on the County of Colchester, by Mr. Israel Longworth, of Truro, in the possession of King's College.

they are written with ease and elegance, and constitute a most valuable contribution to the literature of the Province.

In 1835 Mr. Haliburton began a series of papers which appeared in the *Nova Scotian*, of which Mr. Howe was editor and proprietor. Sam Slick the Clockmaker immediately attracted attention. The character proved as original and amusing as Sam Weller in more modern times. "Samivel" amuses only, Slick both amuses and instructs. Rarely do we find in any character, not excepting the best of Scott's, the same degree of originality and force, combined with humour, sagacity, and sound sense, as we find in the Clockmaker. Industry and perseverance are effectively inculcated in comic story and racy narrative. In the department of instructive humour Haliburton perhaps stands unrivalled in English literature.

When about to leave for England, Judge Haliburton applied for the pension which had been previously granted to him as a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas—justly urging as an additional claim his services as the first historian of the Province. For some years the claim was resisted. On a decision being given in his favor, an appeal was made to England, when the Judicial Committee decided in his favor. It must be a subject of regret that a man so distinguished should have experienced any difficulty in securing a legal right to a paltry pension of three hundred pounds a year. How many unscrupulous sycophants succeed in sucking from the pockets of the people three times that amount?

In 1859 Mr. Haliburton entered the Imperial Parliament as the Conservative member for the borough of Launceston. At Isleworth, near London, where he resided till his death, which took place on the twenty-seventh of August, 1865, he was popular, making himself useful by lectures in behalf of public institutions, and by the substantial aid rendered to charitable objects. His remains lie in the churchyard of Isleworth.

Charles R. Fairbanks was another able man of this period. He was a native of the City of Halifax, and was born on the twenty-fifth of March, 1790. At an early age he was sent to the academy at Windsor, at that time under the management of the late Rev. Dr. Cochran, who afterwards became Vice-President of the College. With many other pupils who subsequently occupied prominent stations in this Province and elsewhere, Mr. Fairbanks acquired the earlier rudiments of education, including the Latin and Greek languages, under the able guidance of Dr. Cochran, and at the early age of fourteen was declared fully qualified for admission as a student in the College. The statutes at that period, however, restricted the entry of students to the age of sixteen years. Excluded by a positive rule, which the better judgment of later Governors has modified, and at an age somewhat too early to commence his studies for the legal profession, he was sent by his parents to a seminary at

Quebec, where he remained some time, during which he acquired a knowledge of the French language, which he spoke with fluency on his return to Nova Scotia. He possessed a remarkable talent for the acquisition of the modern languages, and though he did not speak others with the same fluency as French, he was, at a subsequent period of his life, frequently engaged in translating documents used as evidence in the Admiralty Courts, as well as for other purposes.

After his return from Quebec, Mr. Fairbanks commenced the study of law in the office of the late Simon Robie, one of the most distinguished barristers of that period, and who had a large practice. At the expiration of the usual period of service to qualify a student for admission to the bar, he passed his examination, and entered upon the duties of his profession in the year 1811. A good share of the professional business of that period was soon realized, and until the year 1834 it continued to increase, giving full employment not only to the regular students, but to others employed in his office.

His practice at the bar ceased at the date last mentioned, by his appointment to the office of Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, and Master of the Rolls—the duties of which he discharged for a number of years till his death.

In the year 1824, Mr. Fairbanks was elected one of the representatives to the Legislature for the City of Halifax. He was an active and laborious member, and took a prominent part in the discussion and furtherance of all measures of importance. His speeches bear evidence of the care with which he studied every public question, and the extent of his general knowledge.

In the discharge of his judicial duties he was painstaking and faithful—his judgments being carefully prepared, and the causes disposed of with as little delay as possible.

Although apparently of a strong constitution, he did not hold his appointments as Judge and Master of the Rolls for many years. His health gave way about the year 1840, and he died in 1841, at the comparatively early age of fifty-one, leaving a large family and many friends to regret his early removal from a position, which he had attained by his talents and valuable services to his native Province.*

* At this time, writes a valued correspondent, there were four remarkably clever men at the bar,—namely, S. G. W. Archibald, Chas. R. Fairbanks, James W. Johnston and William B. Bliss—each of whom had a peculiar talent. For a cause requiring a thorough knowledge of mercantile law and shipping, including the usages and customs of merchants as regards bills of lading, promissory notes, and all matters connected with shipping, and where a great deal of research was necessary, Fairbanks was the man; he was hard working and indefatigable. In suits where the questions at issues turned upon special pleading, and the dry points of law, Bliss was considered the first counsel; he never had much practice as an attorney, but was engaged as counsel in

Among the public men of the period the name of Hugh Bell is entitled to an honorable place. Mr. Bell represented the constituency of Halifax, in the Provincial Assembly, from 1835 to 1840; shortly after which he was elected to a seat in the Legislative Council. He was a member of the Administration of which Joseph Howe and James B. Uniacke were the leading spirits, from 1848 to 1854, and continued to take an active part in public affairs till the date of his death, at an advanced age, in 1860. At a time when Nova Scotia was distinguished among the Provinces by politicians of marked ability, the Parliamentary records show that Mr. Bell was regarded by his contemporaries as a man of broad views, and more than ordinary attainments. Though a zealous and consistent adherent of the Liberal Party, Hugh Bell was better known, however, as a philanthropist. His name deserves to be remembered with gratitude by the people of Nova Scotia, for the efforts he put forth to ameliorate the condition of the insane. The noble establishment at Mount Hope, Dartmouth, known as the Provincial Hospital for the Insane, was largely indebted to Hugh Bell for its inception; and, indeed, it was mainly owing to his persistent energy, and his own personal liberality, that the Legislature was induced to project that Institution on a scale which many at the time deemed extravagant, but which subsequent experience has proved to be not more than adequate to the wants of the Province.

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almost all important suits. He was an excellent speaker in addressing the Court or jury, and could never be taken by surprise. He was considered a most excellent and upright lawyer. In actions where law, equity, and hardship were mixed up together, and where full scope was presented for an appeal to the feelings of a jury, Johnston was the man. He was a powerful speaker, and would never omit the minutest point, or piece of evidence in putting his case. If there was a case to be put before a jury of which, apparently, no defence could be made, Archibald was the man. He would amuse the jury with anecdotes and witticisms until they forgot the merits of the case, and thus frequently obtained verdicts which no other counsel could hope to get. When it was known that he was to address the jury the Court House was always crowded.

CHAPTER XVI.

Political agitation for responsible Government—The Colonial Secretary's despatch to Sir John Harvey—Howe's resolutions relative to responsible Government—The Lieutenant-Governor refuses to receive them—Controversy between the Governor and the Assembly—The Assembly ask for his removal—Political meeting in Halifax—Speech of the Colonial Secretary in the British Parliament—Celebration of the Queen's marriage—Arrival of the first mail steamer at Halifax—Visit of the Governor-General—Recall of Sir Colin Campbell, and appointment of Viscount Falkland as Governor—Appointment of Messrs. Howe and McNab as Executive Councillors—Departure of Sir Colin Campbell—Establishment of responsible Government—General election of 1840—Relative strength of the parties—Celebration of the Reform victory in Halifax—Mr. Howe elected Speaker of the House—Opening address by the Governor—Incorporation of Halifax—Session of 1843—Election of Mr. William Young as Speaker—Mr. Annand's resolutions relative to collegiate institutions—Public meeting in Halifax on the subject—Speech by Mr. William Stairs—Advantages of college education—Folly of supporting denominational colleges—Dissolution of the Assembly by Lord Falkland—Mr. Almon receives a seat in the Council—Resignation of Messrs. Howe, Uniacke and McNab—Session of 1844—Debate on the reply to the address—Defeat of a want-of-confidence motion—Mr. Howe's connection with the "Morning Chronicle"—Assembly pass a resolution favorable to the annexation of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia—Lord Falkland's despatch to the Colonial Secretary relative to Mr. Howe's conduct—The reply—Mr. Howe accused of writing against the Governor—The Governor takes a tour through the Province—His reception—Agitation for responsible Government in Canada—Banquet given to the Hon. William Young in Toronto—Responsible Government in New Brunswick.

THE year 1840 was one of intense political agitation in Nova Scotia. The subject of responsible government was keenly

discussed, and meetings were held in almost all the principal towns in the Province, at which resolutions expressive of the determination of the people to secure such government were passed. In October, 1839, Lord John Russell, who was Colonial Secretary, addressed a despatch to Sir John Harvey, the Governor of New Brunswick, which was justly regarded by Mr. Howe and the leading reformers of Nova Scotia as a practical concession of the principle of responsible government, which had been so ably advocated in Lord Durham's report, and which accorded with the instructions sent by Lord Glenelg to Sir Colin Campbell in 1837, but which that gentleman, with mulish stubborness, had disregarded. Lord John Russell drew attention to the tenure on which public offices in the gift of the crown were held in the British Colonies—the Governor's commission being revoked whenever the public service was supposed to require a change, whilst the commissions of all other public officers were rarely recalled except for positive misconduct. The Governor of New Brunswick was now given to understand that not only such officers would be called upon to retire from the public service as often as public policy required a change, but that a change in the person of the Governor would be considered as a sufficient reason for any alteration which his successor might deem it expedient to make in the list of public functionaries, subject, of course, to the future confirmation of the Sovereign. On receiving this important despatch, Governor Harvey issued a circular to the heads of the civil departments, and members of the Executive Council in New Brunswick, in which he hailed the despatch in question as conferring a new, and in his judgment an improved constitution upon these Colonies—the document being regarded in the same light in Canada, and the Lower Provinces.

As Sir Colin Campbell and the Executive Council ignored the instructions of the Colonial Secretary, the House of

Assembly were determined to effect the necessary reform in a thoroughly constitutional manner. Mr. Howe accordingly submitted to the Assembly four resolutions of the following import:—That for many years the best interests of the Province had been jeopardized, and its progress retarded by the want of harmony between the different branches of the government; that in every effort put forth by the House to improve the institutions and purify the administration of the country, it had been met by an influence which had wielded the whole power and patronage of the government, to thwart the wise policy avowed by Her Majesty's ministers, and that in the opinion of the House the Executive Council, as at present constituted, did not enjoy the confidence of the country. These resolutions passed by a majority of thirty to twelve; and were submitted, with an address to the Governor, by the whole House. The Governor, in his reply to the address, stated the subject with which it dealt had in all essential respects been already brought under the notice of Her Majesty's Government, in resolutions of the House of Assembly passed in its last session; and that, after full consideration, the Government had come to a decision, which he had submitted to the House, and having no reason to believe that any alteration had taken place in the sentiments of Her Majesty's government, he did not feel at liberty to adopt any other course than to refer the House to the despatch already alluded to. The House immediately called the attention of the Governor to the despatch of the Colonial Secretary as being of more recent date than the one to which he had referred, and as giving His Excellency the power to remodel the Executive Council, by making such changes as were required to ensure harmony between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government. The House was at a loss to conceive any motives of public policy more sufficient to render an application of the principle of Lord John Russell's despacth to

Nova Scotia advisable, than the fact that a majority of thirty to twelve of the members of the representative branch had avowed their want of confidence in officers expressly referred to by the Colonial Secretary. They had declared it impossible to deal wisely with measures of great importance to the government of the country, until confidence between the Executive and the Legislature should be established, and that while the only efficient representative of the local government—Mr. Uniacke—had resigned his seat in the Council, no man of influence in the Assembly could be found to devote his talents to the service of the government, while a majority of the Executive Council persisted in retaining their seats, and His Excellency declined to exercise the power confided to him. The Governor was also reminded by the House that Sir John Harvey recognised the despatch of Lord John Russell as conferring a new and improved constitution on the colonies, and had expressed his determination to act upon it; and that the Governor General had intimated that he had received Her Majesty's commands to administer the government of these Provinces in accordance with the well understood wishes and interests of the people, and to pay to their feelings, as expressed through their representatives, the deference justly due to them. His Excellency replied that the course suggested would practically recognise a fundamental change in the colonial constitution, which he could not discover in the despatch of the Colonial Secretary.

The only course now open to the Assembly was to present an address to Her Majesty, praying for the removal of Sir Colin Campbell from the Governorship of the Province, and this course the House reluctantly, though resolutely, resolved to adopt. The address was in every respect an admirable document, reasonable in its demands, and irresistible in its arguments, breathing a spirit of loyalty in combination with that of determined constitutional resistance to the back

parlor system of government, to which the country had been so long subjected, and for the abolition of it which it had so earnestly contended. We give the two concluding paragraphs of the addres :—

"It is true that Nova Scotia is a small colony, and that your Majesty may, if you see fit, govern it by the strong hand of power, relying in no degree upon the affectionate attachment of its inhabitants; but it is also true that in no portion of your Majesty's dominions are the powers of the Crown and the rights of the people better understood; and in none is there a more determined spirit of resistance by all constitutional means, to a system of government founded on mere favoritism or injustice. From the position the people of Nova Scotia occupy in the centre of the Lower Colonies, and availing themselves of the influence which their loyalty, their intelligence, their firmness and their moderation have acquired for them among the population of British North America, they will never cease to appeal to the public opinion around them—to contend against that system, and to vindicate and assert by every means in their power, their rights as British subjects.

"That your Majesty will join with this House in obviating the necessity for such appeals—that you will repress these absurd attempts to govern Provinces by the aid, and for the exclusive benefit of minorities, this Assembly confidently believe, and in asking your Majesty to remove Sir Colin Campbell, and send to Nova Scotia a Governor who will not only represent the Crown, but carry out its policy with firmness and good faith, the representatives of Nova Scotia perform a painful duty to their Sovereign, and to their constituents, but recommend the only remedy which they fear can now be applied to establish harmony between the Executive and Legislature of this Province."

The representatives of the town and county of Halifax—Joseph Howe, William Annand, Thomas Forrester and Hugh Bell—invited their constituents to meet them in Mason Hall on the thirtieth of March, 1840, at twelve o'clock, as a meeting had been called by their opponents to condemn the conduct of the House of Assembly in reference to the Governor and the Executive Council, in terms which precluded their attendance, and which they presumed were intended to prevent fair and full discussion upon a great public question. The people flocked in large numbers to the hall, which was

densely crowded. The principal speakers in defence of the Assembly were Messrs. Howe, Wm. Young, Forrester and Bell—the defence of the Government having been conducted by the Solicitor-General, J. W. Johnston, in an oration of great ingenuity and force, producing the conviction that a bad cause could scarcely have been more ably defended. An attempt to take a vote at the conclusion of the proceedings, which lasted for seven hours, failed in consequence of the confusion and excitement, and both parties claimed a victory.

Whatever doubt might have existed as to the import of the communication of the Colonial Secretary to the Governor of New Brunswick, was completely dispelled by the report of a speech delivered by that minister in the House of Commons, in laying Canadian correspondence on the table, on the twenty-third of March, when his Lordship said:

"The practice had unfortunately prevailed that there had been one set of men enjoying the confidence of the Governor, forming very often a small party in the Colony, distributing the revenues of the country according to their own notions; and, on the other hand, there had been men, ambitious perhaps, stirring perhaps, but at the same time of great public talents—and that these should be excluded from their share in the administration, seemed an unfortunate and vicious system, and he thought that, by the rule of administration, a better practice ought to be introduced. In conformity with this opinion, his predecessor in office—the Marquis of Normandy—informed the Governor of Nova Scotia that whenever a vacancy occurred in the Council he was to fill it up by those persons selected from the majority of the Assembly whom he thought most qualified for such a trust. The occasion of making an appointment arose soon after he had succeeded his noble friend, and the Governor of Nova Scotia requested to know whether he was to act on the directions which he had received from his predecessor. He told him he was; and he knew no better way of giving confidence to the Provinces, and at the same time making the leaders of the Assembly practical men of business, than by appointing them to situations of official trust and responsibility. He would by no means lay down an inflexible rule on the subject, but he maintained a general system should be adopte by which the leaders among the majority of the Assembly should be included in the Executive Government."

Though political feeling was intense at this period in the Province, all parties cordially united in celebrating the Queen's marriage. The Charitable Irish Society led the way, followed by the North British and Highland Societies,* and the St. George's Society. It was a season of general joy and festivity.

On Monday, the first of June, 1840, the steamer *Unicorn* —the forerunner of the Cunard line—arrived in Halifax, and was welcomed by the huzzas of the populace assembled on the wharves. She had engines of three hundred horse-power, and was commanded by Captain Douglas. The *Britannia*, the first steamer of the regular Cunard line, arrived in Halifax on Friday, the seventeenth of July. She performed the voyage in twelve days and a half, proceeding afterwards to Boston, where preparations were made to give her an enthusiastic reception; the Bostonians presented Mr. Cunard with a service of plate as a testimonial of the sense entertained of his services.

The Right Honorable Charles Poulet Thomson, the Governor General, visited Halifax in the month of July. The purpose of his visit was evidently to smooth the way for a contemplated change in the government of the Province. Mr. Thomson consulted gentlemen connected with both the great political parties. Mr. Annand says in his admirably edited speeches and letters of Mr. Howe, that Mr. Howe's pamphlet on responsible government was put into Mr. Thomson's hands by some one of the opposite party as evidence of the utterly absurd views which the writer entertained. On being questioned, Mr. Howe offered to read the pamphlet to His Excellency, and convince him that there was not only no harm, but a great deal of good in it; that re-

* The North British Society was formed in Halifax on the twenty-sixth of March, 1768. For interesting information respecting its origin and progress see "Annals," compiled by the present esteemed President of the Society, Mr. James S. Macdonald.

sponsible government was just as practicable in Nova Scotia as in England, and that it was the only remedy for the manifold grievances of which all the colonies of North America complained. As the reading went on, Mr. Thomson was asked to state his objections. Upon a few points he invited discussion or desired explanation. The objections stated were removed, the explanations sought were given, and before Mr. Howe left the room the foundation was laid of that mutual confidence and respect which only terminated with the premature and melancholy death of the Governor-General. When the Governor-General left the Province the reformers were satisfied that he had been impressed with the reasonableness of the changes in administration for which they were contending, and that his report to the Imperial Government would be favorable to their demands.

About the beginning of September intelligence had reached Halifax that Sir Colin Campbell was to be recalled, and Viscount Falkland to take his place. The Viscount was a thorough Whig, and a Lord of the Bedchamber. He was married to one of the Fitz-Clarences—a daughter of William the Fourth and Mrs. Jordan, and sister of Lady Mary Fox, whose unostentatious and exemplary character had left a favorable impression on Halifax society some years previously. His Lordship arrived on the seventeenth of September, 1840, in the steamer Britannia, and was sworn in on the thirteenth. In a few days Messrs. Jeffery, Collins, Cogswell and Tobin were sent for, and received notice that they must retire from the Executive Council, to which Mr. Howe and Mr. McNab were appointed.

The political opponents of Sir Colin Campbell and his administration cherished no vindictive feeling towards him. In their intercourse with him he had been always pleasant and courteous, but the old soldier belonged to an unbending school, and was utterly unfitted by habit and training for

the position which he occupied. He deemed it a point of honor to defend the Executive Council, and well nigh sacrificed his honor in his infatuated resistance to the explicit instructions which emanated from the Colonial Office. Mr. Annand informs us that passing out from Lord Falkland's first levee, Mr. Howe bowed to Sir Colin, and was moving on when Sir Colin called to him, and extending his hand exclaimed, "We must not part in that way Mr. Howe, we fought out our differences of opinion honestly; you have acted like a man of honor. There is my hand." It was shaken in all sincerity. This interesting and touching incident, evincing as it did a manly heart, covers a multitude of sins, and effectually prevents severe strictures on a gubernatorial course which otherwise merited unqualified condemnation. As evidence of the personal popularity of Sir Colin, it is only necessary to state that on his departure a procession was formed by the members of the St. George's, North British, and Highland Societies, and that the horses drawing the carriages in which he was being conveyed to the steamer were unharnessed, and the carriage drawn by members of these societies.

Responsible government was now firmly established. Four years ago a council of twelve persons chosen from the capital, with one exception, formed the second branch of the legislature. They sat like an interesting family party in private, the Governor having no power to increase their number. The whole executive power of the government was vested in these men, who were never required to appeal to the people, holding as they did their office for life, as the advisers of the Governor, and the rulers of the Province. Under Lord Falkland's government, the Legislative Council consisted of twenty members, nine of whom represented the rural districts—their deliberations being conducted with open doors. Of the ten men who composed the Executive Council, six were members of the representative branch,

and were consequently obliged once in four years to solicit the suffrages of the people—a wholesome constitutional check being thus vested in the constituencies.

The House having been dissolved, the winter of the year 1840 found the Province in the excitement of an election, in which the reformers maintained their ground. Halifax returned Howe and Annand, McNab and Forrester. S. G. W. Archibald was returned for Colchester. In the conservative interest, Holmes, Blackader and another took their seats for Pictou. Huntington and Clemens were returned as reformers for Yarmouth, W. A. Henry for Sydney, and W. Young for Inverness, in the same interest. J. B. Uniacke was returned for Cape Breton, and the Hon. E. M. Dodd, for the Township of Sydney. In the last House the reformers numbered thirty-one, and the defenders of Sir Colin Campbell, seventeen—the majority for reform varying according to the nature of the questions at issue. In the new House nearly the same relative strength of parties was maintained.

In Halifax the triumph of reform in the town and county was celebrated by a public dinner, to which Messrs. Hugh Bell, Joseph Howe, Wm. Annand, Hon. James McNab and Thomas Forrester were invited as guests. The chair was occupied by the Hon. Michael Tobin, Mr. Wm. Stairs being Vice-President. The principal speakers were, Mr. Howe, Mr. Bell, Mr. Forrester, and Mr. George R. Young. Mr. Stairs proposed the toast of the British Constitution, with the following simile: "It rose, like the coral islands, by slow degrees, amidst storms of human intellect and passion—time but extends its borders, developes its beauties, and increases its strength."

The new House met on the third of February, 1841, when Mr. Howe was elected Speaker—beating Mr. Uniacke only by a majority of two—in the place of Mr. S.

G. W. Archibald, who had resigned in conformity with a rule, that a crown officer was ineligible for the post.

Lord Falkland delivered a long speech in opening the Assembly, the most important feature of which was the advocacy of the principle of general assessment in the formation of a scheme of Provincial education—a principle which, however, the House did not deem it prudent in the meantime, to adopt. But the Assembly amended the Educational Act, setting apart six thousand pounds annually for the period of four years, for the support of common schools. The Governor and Council were authorized to appoint five, or more commissioners of schools, for each county, who were to have the management and control of all schools established under the new law—this Board being required to divide the respective counties into school districts.

The most important act passed during the session was one to incorporate the town of Halifax, by which a most pernicious and long continued system of misrule was terminated. On three different occasions a similar measure had been introduced—once by the late Master of the Rolls, and twice by the members of the town and county, but without success.

The Session of the year 1842 passed without any questions of stirring interest coming before the House. A measure for the consolidation and simplification of the criminal code was carried, and steps taken to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. It is worthy of record that Charles Dickens, the celebrated novelist, was in Halifax this year, and visited the House of Assembly.

On the House meeting in January, 1843, Mr. Howe —having accepted the collectorship of Colonial Revenue— resigned the Speakership, when Mr. William Young and Mr. Huntington were competitors for the chair—the former gentleman was elected by a majority of two votes.

Early in the session, the House having resolved itself

into a Committee on the general state of the Province, Mr. Annand moved, in an able speech, a series of resolutions bearing upon the endowment of collegiate institutions. These resolutions condemned the general principle of endowment on which the Assembly had hitherto acted. Four colleges were now drawing largely upon the resources of the Province, without one of them being efficient. Petitions were laid on the table, praying for the endowment of the other denominational colleges, which could not be consistently refused. To continue the present grants, and endow the two institutions, now applicants for aid, would require at least two thousand six hundred pounds yearly, and this sum, added to seventeen hundred pounds given to the academies of the Shire Towns, would make an amount equal to four thousand three hundred pounds devoted to the education of the rich, while only about eight thousand pounds could be afforded for the general education of the people. It was contended that one good college, free from sectarian control, and open to all denominations, would be adequate to the requirements of a population of three hundred thousand. Mr. Fairbanks opposed the resolutions, proposing an amendment, having for its object the maintenance of the old system, but it was lost by a vote of twenty-six to twenty-one. Meetings were held in Colchester, Pictou and Hants, approving of the action of the Assembly.

A large meeting was held in Halifax—the Hon. Mr. Bell occupied the chair. Mr. William Stairs delivered a speech replete with telling facts and sound arguments, advocating the establishment of one efficient college in the Province :

"I do not intend," he said "to descant on the exquisite pleasures which learning confers, or upon the personal resources, dignity and independence derived from it—the mastery which it gives over the art and science of nature, leading from nature—as has been beautifully said—to nature's God, or to its fitness to prepare the mind both for its duties here, and an inheritance hereafter. These are subjects for another field, but I put it gravely to this meeting, assembled as we are to found and perpetuate a system best

adapted to open and perfect the Provincial mind, and thus to promote the virtue, the skill, and the happiness of the people—from what cause has it sprung that Prussia and Holland on the continent of Europe, and Scotland in the United Kingdom, occupy so decided a superiority over the nations around them? To bring the illustration nearer home, I ask how it is that the people of New England enjoy so unquestionable a pre-eminence over those of the sister States in the Union? It has arisen from their admirable system of education, and from their having introduced into their common schools, academies and colleges all the improvements and principles which have been discovered by the intelligence of modern times. From the operation of these systems have sprung their skill in manual labor, elevation in public morality, wealth in all the products of intellect which give richness and embellishment to social life. To extend the benefits of these systems, and to place Nova Scotia upon an equality with countries which sustain them is one of the objects of the present assembly."

The sentiments thus so felicitously expressed are equally applicable to the present time. There is unquestionably in our day a tendency on the part of parents to over-estimate the advantages to be derived from the mere accumulation of money, independently of the cultivation and expansion of the intellectual and moral faculties. Hence we find that the talent of our youth is directed to that object so exclusively as to preclude that degree of mental culture and attainment in knowledge, which is so essential to enable them to fulfil the great object of life by exerting a potent influence on others for good. How is it, moreover, that in our public men, with few exceptions, we find but the semblance of the talent and public spirit by which the period of which we are treating was distinguished? This arises, we venture to say, not from the absence of natural intellectual capacity, but mainly from two causes—the want of early scholastic training, and the absence of that stimulus to mental activity and strength which a large collegiate institution can only impart, and to the fact that our youth of most promise are set to business in boyhood and led to believe that to make money and die rich is the very acme of human felicity—the standard of success in life being, not the amount of good work done, but

the amount of money accumulated. Besides not a few of our most talented young men are constrained, in the absence of one central and commanding seat of learning, to prosecute their studies in other countries where new connections are formed, which lead to the loss of their services to the land of their birth. Almost every student learns more from his fellow-students than from his regular teachers, and the absence of the emulation and mental tension produced by numbers, independently of other elements, has a repressing tendency which every lover of his country should be anxious to remove. It is true that Joseph Howe, though eminently useful, had not been favored with a collegiate education, but he, like the late Hugh Miller, must be regarded as an exception to the general rule; and few will deny, that if Mr. Howe had enjoyed the advantages of a classical education his compositions, excellent as they are, would have been marked by greater precision and power. But not to lose sight of the proceedings which elicited these remarks, every argument used thirty years ago in condemnation of the support of denominational colleges, and in favor of one University for the Province, applies at the present time with threefold potency. Grants continue to be made to denominational colleges, but evils like the one in question require only courage on the part of our statesmen for their removal. A resolute movement in the right direction, though it might lead to the temporary loss of political power, would certainly command ultimate popular commendation, as well as success in the best sense of the word.

The manifestations of popular sentiment and feeling in regard to education alarmed the majority of the members of Council, and Lord Falkland resolved to dissolve the Assembly, a precedent unwarranted by circumstances, and therefore perhaps unprecedented in Colonial administration. There was no evidence tending to show that the Government had lost the confidence of the country. Mr. Howe had given

offence to some of his most ardent supporters, by accepting office without a more radical change in the Executive Council, and the majority of the advisers of Lord Falkland—Tories of the old school who were mortified at partial loss of power—thought the moment favorable for a dissolution.

In December, Mr. M. B. Almon, having been appointed to seats in the Executive and Legislative Councils, Messrs. Howe, Uniacke and McNab tendered their resignations. Lord Falkland requested these gentlemen to give their reasons in writing, which was accordingly done. The substance of their reasons was in effect, that the appointment of Mr. Almon indicated a change of policy on the part of his Lordship, and would be so regarded by the people of Nova Scotia. The right of his Lordship to make any appointments which might strengthen his government was conceded.

To these letters Lord Falkland wrote a long reply, which was published in the newspapers. His Lordship complained of the appointment of Mr. Almon being regarded as proving a change of policy on his part, notwithstanding the strongest declarations of his determination to adhere to the principles by which he had hitherto been guided in the administration of the Government of the Province. He stated that he selected Mr. Almon for advancement because he had been previously so little engaged in political life; that it was not probable the distinction conferred on him would offend the prejudices of any portion of the community, he being known to entertain liberal views on questions of general policy; and further because from his relationship to Mr. Johnston, Mr. Almon being his brother-in-law, the leader of his government, the appointment would be regarded by the public as a proof of his Lordship's confidence in that gentleman. The practical value of the admission made by the retiring members of Council of his Lordship's right to make appointments amounted to nothing if they were justified in seceding from the Council. On questions relating to local

matters, which did not affect the Royal prerogative, he should deem it his duty to pay every regard and deference to the views of the members of Council, as well as to the wishes of the people, however much these might militate against his own opinions, but the claims which their resignations tended virtually to assert he could not recognize.

The new House met on the eighth of February, 1844, when the Hon. Mr. Young, who had been elevated to a seat in the Executive Council, but had resigned on his appointment of Speaker, was re-elected Speaker. Lord Falkland, in opening the Assembly said, that his best energies had been devoted to the advancement of the interests of the Province, and being satisfied that a government composed of individuals of one political party only would be ill suited to its actual condition, he had determined to administer the affairs of the colony with the advice of a Board at which all interests should be represented. He was determined to resist any invasion of the Royal prerogative, while he used the powers which that prerogative conferred justly and impartially for the benefit of all Her Majesty's subjects. A long and spirited discussion took place on the reply to the address—the most prominent men in opposition to the Government being the Speaker, Huntington, Howe, Doyle and G. R. Young. The debate lasted for about a fortnight, when the address was carried by twenty-six to twenty-four votes. Subsequently, Mr. Howe moved a vote of want of confidence in the Government, to the effect that the House, having waited for such a reconstruction of the Executive Council as seemed called for by the state of the country, and having despatched the public business in the belief that the Lieutenant Governor would call around him a body of men truly reflecting the opinions of the people, deemed it their duty before retiring to their homes to state that the Executive Council, as at present constituted, did not possess such a degree of public

confidence as was essential to the vigorous and wise administration of the government. The government were, however, sustained by twenty-six to twenty-three votes.

On the twenty-fourth of February, Lord Falkland addressed a communication to the Hon. E. M. Dodd, in which he stated that he was sincerely desirous that his government should be conducted on the principles which he had announced from the throne, and authorized that gentleman to offer three of the seats in the Council which were vacant, to the gentlemen who had seceded from the government—Messrs. Howe, Uniacke, and McNab. It was to be understood that no agitation must be promoted by the members of the Government on points affecting the principle on which it was constructed. He also insisted as a condition of acceptance on an express disavowal of the theory advanced in the Assembly that the representatives of the Sovereign stood in the same relation to the representatives of the people of the colony which he governed that the Monarch does to the House of Commons in England. On these conditions Messrs. Howe, Uniacke and McNab refused acceptance of office.

In May, Mr. Annand, who was proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle* and *Nova Scotian*, announced that Mr. Howe, who during the last two years and a half had no direct connection with the press, would share in the editorial management of these papers. "During that period," said Mr. Howe, in taking up the editorial pen, "we sometimes doubted our own identity—we were a part of a nine-stringed instrument which sometimes produced harmony, and sometimes discord, but in which there was no clear ringing tone. But now, like the lark, we can rise on our own wing and pour forth our own strains, rejoicing in a sense of freedom that we have not felt for years." The strains which the editor poured forth, whether in poetry or prose, were not such as were calculated to charm Lord Falkland or his Government—his peculiar carol having little melody for Governmental ears.

In July an extra session of the House was held, in order to give the House an opportunity to determine whether they would appoint an agent to represent them at the bar of the Privy Council, in the case pending before the Judicial Committee regarding the annexation of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia in 1820. The Assembly did not deem it necessary to send an agent, passing a resolution to the effect that the annexation of the island to Nova Scotia by the proclamation of 1820, and the act of Assembly empowering it was a measure very advantageous to the great body of the inhabitants of that island, and that it was largely benefited by the protection of the Government, and the equiable administration of justice.

Lord Falkland determined, if possible, to detach his party from Mr. Howe, and for that purpose put forth strenuous efforts, but in vain, to secure the co-operation in the government of Messrs. McNab, Huntington, T. B. Uniacke and two Catholic gentlemen, Messrs. Tobin and Brennan, placing five seats at the Council Board at their disposal. His Lordship also sent a despatch to the Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Stanley, complaining bitterly of Mr. Howe, stating that his conduct had rendered it impossible for him to offer him a seat at any Board at which he presided, because the mere fact of his being restored to his former position, after having publicly and grossly insulted the Queen's representative, and restored moreover, by the very officer so outraged, would degrade the office he held in the estimation of the community, and make Mr. Joseph Howe *de facto* Governor of Nova Scotia. Lord Falkland said further, that it was from no sense of weakness either in Parliament or in the country he was induced to address his Lordship; but as a junction of parties, for many reasons so desirable, had been prevented by considerations involving so much of a personal nature, and which reduced the question to a contest between himself and a political leader in the Province, he

felt it right that he, Lord Stanley, should have an opportunity of pronouncing judgment on the course he had pursued under circumstances so painful, and of counteracting without delay the evil consequences of his conduct—by recalling him—if he had fallen into error. Lord Stanley replied, that although his negotiations were unsuccessful, his proceedings had met with entire approval. The Colonial Secretary had the fullest confidence in Lord Falkland's discretion, and left him to select such individuals as he should consider most eligible to serve in his Government. Mr. Howe was thus condemned without an opportunity of defending himself.

During the session of 1845, the Attorney-General drew attention to the attacks made on the Lieutenant-Governor in the pages of the "Nova Scotian," for which he held Mr. Howe responsible. He complained of doggerel verses which appeared in that newspaper, on the twentieth of May, entitled "The Lord of the Bed Chamber," and signed "Judy," which were said to have emanated from the pen of the member for Halifax. Mr. Annand, in "Howe's Letters and Speeches," says that the lines became a classic portion of political literature, and they were evidently intensely offensive to his Lordship. That they were of sufficient importance to be made the subject of a grave discussion in the Assembly may be fairly questioned.

In order to strengthen his Government, Lord Falkland visited the most populous settlements in the Province, meeting in not a few instances with a reception which proved anything but satisfactory. At Pictou he was received with cold civility. In King's County eight hundred freeholders presented an address to His Excellency, in which the political virtues of the retired Councillors were studiously paraded, and the constitutional privileges recently conceded by the parent State were stated to be universally recognized as the only true basis of Colonial Government. "Should this expression of our opinion," said the yeomanry

of King's, "tend to convince your Excellency of the real state of feeling in the rural districts, we shall rejoice to see your Excellency, ere long, again surrounded by those who really possess the confidence of the great mass of the people." At Windsor His Excellency was confronted with an address, signed by upwards of a thousand names, in which he was told, with remarkable plainness of speech, that the country could never be peaceful, contented or happy whilst those who had been subtle and intriguing enemies of responsible Government and popular rights surrounded His Excellency, and those who had been for years recognized as the leaders and guides of the people were opposed to his administration. His Excellency was informed that the people of Hants had been deceived by their representatives, and they prayed that His Excellency would, by an early dissolution, give them an opportunity of showing their attachment to those who, though excluded from his councils, and apparently from his confidence, possessed their unbounded attachment and esteem.

Whilst Nova Scotia was thus agitated a similar contest was being carried on in Canada, the Governor General—Sir Charles Metcalfe—and the people being antagonistic in their principles of government. The root of the evils complained of lay in the gross errors of the Executive Government, over which the people had no control. Popular complaints of bad government were either altogether disregarded by the Imperial Government or inadequate remedies applied for their removal. The people demanded that the Government should be conducted on British constitutional principles—the Government to be thus held responsible for the acts of the Governor General, and being constituted and from time to time moulded according to popular sentiment constitutionally expressed. In 1841 resolutions embodying these views were passed in the Legislative Assembly of Canada, and were sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government as the

basis of future administration. These resolutions blasted the hopes of "the family compact," by which Canada, like Nova Scotia, had been long ruled. For a long time this body of men possessed all the highest offices, by means of which it wielded all the powers of government. Lord Durham reported that the bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the Episcopal church, and a great part of the legal profession were filled by the adherents of the party—that by grant or purchase they had acquired nearly the whole of the waste lands of the Province, and were all powerful in the chartered banks. It was no easy matter to break up this well compacted confederacy, but the genial rays of public opinion began to produce a partial disintegration. On the union of the Provinces, Lord Sydenham assembled the first united Parliament, and dissatisfaction having been expressed by a majority of the House with some of the measures of his Government, he at once adopted the constitutional remedy of removing a part of his Council, and appointing men in their places who enjoyed the confidence of the Assembly. Sir Charles Bagot, who succeeded Lord Sydenham in the administration of Canada, acted on the same principle as his predecessor, thus giving effect to the opinion of Lord Durham, as expressed in his report, that the responsibility to the united Legislature of all the officers of the Government, except the Governor and his Secretary, should be secured by every means known to the British Constitution—the Governor, as the representative of the Crown, being instructed to carry on the Government by heads of departments, in whom the united Legislature should repose confidence, and the Imperial Government not interfering in any contest with the Legislature except on points involving strictly Imperial interests. Sir Charles Metcalfe having deviated from these fundamental principles, with which the colonial mind had become thoroughly impregnated, caused a political fermentation like that by which Nova Scotia was

agitated, and the resignation of liberal members of Council. It was at this critical period that the Hon. Wm. Young, the speaker of the Nova Scotian House of Assembly, visited Canada, when the Toronto "Globe," at this time the most powerful Canadian organ of liberal opinions, announced that the reformers of Toronto and the neighboring Townships had invited Mr. Young to a public dinner, as a mark of the high consideration entertained of the able conduct displayed by himself and his colleagues in their struggle with Lord Falkland for the great principles of responsible government. The banquet accordingly took place on the twenty-third of September in the Hall of the Reform Association. The chair was occupied by the Hon. Henry John Bolton—the Hon. Robert Baldwin acting as croupier. The hall was splendidly decorated, and the "Globe" said that a finer spectacle was never exhibited in Canada at any similar demonstration. Mr. Young proved equal to the occasion.

The people of New Brunswick experienced the same unreasonable resistence to Constitutional Government at the hands of the Governor, Sir William Colebrook, as was encountered in Canada and Nova Scotia. The Assembly of that Province on the twentieth of February, 1845, passed a resolution by a vote of twenty-two to nine, to the effect that the Executive Council did not possess the confidence of the House, yet in the face of that resolution one of the gentlemen in the minority was appointed by the Governor to a vacant seat in the Executive Council!

On the ninth of November, 1844, the Abbé J. M. Sigoyne, died at Clare in the county of Digby, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. He was a native of Tours, in France, his father being Mayor of the city of Lyons. From his youth he was devoted to literature, and his progess in learning was rapid as his piety was ardent. "His talents"—says a correspondent—"were of a high order, and in him were united a fine imagination with a vigorous understanding" He was a loyalist in principle, and the revolution which dethroned his sovereign, and shed the best blood in France, forced him to seek an asylum in London, where he remained for a considerable

time, devoting himself to the study of the English language. In 1797 he emigrated to Nova Scotia, retiring to the peaceful settlements of Clare and Tusket, and assuming the whole charge of the French Acadian Parishes. To these localities many of the people had resorted, after the expulsion of 1755, and in the Abbé Sigoyne they found a sound adviser, and an affectionate friend. For forty-seven years he resided amongst them, not only zealously discharging his duties as a spiritual teacher, but also acting in the capacity of a judge to whom all differences were referred, and in whose decisions the utmost confidence was reposed. He had the commission of a Justice of the Peace, drew up with his own hand deeds and contracts, and settled with marvellous authority and tact all disputes. The venerable Abbé spoke the Indian language fluently, and the Micmacs regarded him with the utmost veneration. The jurisdiction of the Abbé extended over all the French settlements from Annapolis to Pubnico, a distance of over one hundred miles. When the Abbé began his labors, and long after, the roads were almost impassible, particularly between Clare and Tusket, a distance of forty-five miles. Hence he was obliged to travel along the sea shore on horse back, and a part of the way on foot. There existed at that time only two places of worship in that region—one at Church Point, Clare, and another near Tusket, which had been erected by the first refugees. After the lapse of some years, the population having increased, other churches were erected, and during the pastorate of the Abbé six churches were completed in Clare and five at Tusket. For many years the Abbé had been the only pastor of all the Acadian Parishes. At present there are four priests in Clare, and three in Tusket, Eel Brook and Pubnico. The Abbé was universally respected and beloved, and will be long held in affectionate remembrance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Advocacy of railway extension in the Province—Sketch of the Abbé Segoyne—Howe's letter in reply to the charge of being a mendicant—Destructive fire in St. John's, Newfoundland—Departure of Lord Falkland—Is succeeded by Sir John Harvey—Hon. J. W. Johnston—His administration—His reply to the correspondent of the "Patriot"—Society for the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland—Sketch of Judge S. S. Blowers—Character of Daniel O'Connell—His death—Session of 1847—Policy of the Governor—General election of 1847—Meeting of the House—Mr. Young elected Speaker—Motion of want of confidence—Resignation of the Government—The new administration—Report of the Committee on Education—Celebration of the centenary of the settlement of Halifax—Howe's poem on the occasion—Outram's letters to the "Glasgow Mail"—Construction of a telegraph between Halifax and Amherst—Hon. J. W. Johnston's resolutions relating to the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor—Mr. S. Cunard's defence of the General Mining Association—Reply of Mr. G. R. Young—Howe's mission to England to advocate railway extension in the Province—Report of the Commission for consolidating and simplifying the Laws of the Province—Success of Mr. Howe's mission to England—Sketch of Herbert Huntington—Death of Sir John Harvey—His life and character—Appointment of Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant as Governor—Presentation of plate to Bishop Connolly—Visit of the Governor-General to Halifax—Mr. Howe appointed Chairman of the Railway Board—Re-construction of the Government—Railway extension—Ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty—Industrial Exhibition of 1854—War between Britain and Russia—Mr. J. W. Johnston's Prohibitory Liquor Bill—Mr. Howe's speech—Remarks on the temperance question.

THE project of a railway between Halifax and Quebec was much discussed in the press in 1845, and a Provisional Committee appointed to collect information, who prepared an

elaborate report, pointing out the advantages which would accrue to the Province by the establishment of such a line of communication, and giving an estimate of the traffic by which the railway would be supported. A railway between Halifax and Windsor was also advocated at a public meeting held in the Mason Hall in Halifax.

In 1846 Mr. Howe addressed a letter, occupying three columns of the "Nova Scotian," to Lord Falkland, in reply to the charge of his being a mendicant, publicly made by an officer of the Government, in allusion to a sum of money which Mr. Howe had accepted from some of the people in recognition of his public services, in connection with the pecuniary sacrifice he had made in seceding from the Government. Perhaps the severest thing Mr. Howe ever wrote was the concluding passage of his communication.

This year—1846—a great fire occurred at St. John's, Newfoundland, by which the town was almost completely destroyed—about two thousand houses and property to the value of one million pounds sterling being swept away. Halifax acted with its usual promptitude in such cases, contributing most liberally to the relief of the sufferers.

Lord Falkland left for England in August, being succeeded in the Lieutenant-Governorship by Sir John Harvey, late Governor of Newfoundland. That Lord Falkland had an able leader of his Government it the Hon. J. W. Johnston, must be admitted. That the Government was sustained till the close of his Lordship's administration, notwithstanding the most formidable talent and influences employed in attacking it, and making popular feeling and sentiment antagonistic to its continuance, indicates the rare political tact and judgment brought to bear in its defence. Mr. Johnston was ever ready, by pen and tongue, to defend the character and acts of the Governor, and employed only legitimate weapons in the contest. A correspondent having sent a communication to the "Patriot"—the most influential news-

paper organ of the Dissenters in England—shortly after Lord Falkland's departure, charging him, after taking office under Lord John Russell professedly as a Liberal, with acting as a Tory, and giving himself up to a political faction—thus depriving the people of the liberties they had wrought out for themselves a few years ago, Mr. Johnston sent a reply to the same paper, vindicating the conduct of the late Governor.

In 1842 died Judge Sampson Salter Blowers. He was born in Boston in March, 1743. He was the only son of John Blowers, the second son of the Rev. Thomas Blowers, minister of Beverley. His father, John Blowers, served as a Lieutenant in the Provincial forces which were raised for the siege of Louisbourg, and being seized with what was called the camp fever, was invalided and returned to Boston, and died soon after, leaving his son an orphan at a very early age. His maternal grandfather took charge of him and placed him at the grammar school in Boston, under Mr. Lovell, where he continued six years, and then proceeded to Harvard College, Cambridge. In 1763 he graduated, and soon after commenced the study of the law in the office of James Ottis, then an eminent barrister, and warmly engaged in the political wrangles which ended in the Revolution and Independence of the British colonies. In 1767 Mr. Blowers was admitted an attorney and barrister of the Supreme Court at Boston, and continued in the practice of his profession until the autumn of 1774, when to avoid the political contentions which became daily more violent, he sailed with his wife, whom he had recently married, for England, and arrived there at the commencement of the year 1775. In 1778 he sailed for New York, then occupied by British forces. In 1779 he received a commission to be Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, appointed to be held at Rhode Island, and proceeded to that place, which was then occupied by a detachment of British troops, and as a station for the fleet then under the command of Lord Howe. In the spring following the French fleet under the command of Count D'Estaing, arrived at the coast of North America, and entered the harbor of Newport; and a large detachment of the American forces crossed from the main to the Island, and commenced the seige of Newport, which they continued for some weeks, until the appearance of the British fleet off the Island. The fleet of France having embarked the French troops which had been landed from the ships, the latter sailed in pursuit of the British fleet, and left the American troops, which were cannonading the town, to take care of themselves. The seige was therefore raised, and soon after Mr. Blowers returned to New York, where he embarked again for England. He remained in

England only a few months, and having been appointed Solicitor-General for New York he returned thither, and no civil government having been established, he employed himself in the Vice-Admiralty Court until the evacuation of that city, part of the time as an advocate, and the latter part as a Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court there, and as a Commissioner of the Board of Debts established by Lord Dorchester on his taking command of the King's troops.

On the evacuation of New York Mr. Blowers removed with his family to Halifax, and in the year 1785, he was appointed Attorney-General of the Province of Nova Scotia, and in the same year he was chosen Speaker of the House of Assembly. In 1788 he was appointed a member of His Majesty's Council, and in 1797 Chief Justice of the Province and President of the Council. He retired from public life in 1833. When ex-President Adams was in Nova Scotia in 1840 he paid Judge Blowers a visit. The Judge never set foot in the land of his nativity after he was driven from it. "He never wore an overcoat in his life," says the Hon. Joseph Howe in one of his published speeches. He died in the ninety-ninth year of his age.

Sarah, his widow, died in Halifax in July, 1845, in the eighty-eighth year of her age.

In Halifax there was, at this time, an organization for the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and which sympathised with the opinions, and approved of the action of Daniel O'Connell, who was stigmatised by many as a dangerous agitator, but who was unquestionably one of the ablest and most patriotic men Ireland ever produced. At the beginning of O'Connell's public career the legalized oppression and mismanagement of Ireland had attained its culminating point. The land was in the grasp of proprietors who sub-divided it into small plots inadequate for the subsistence of the people who lived upon them. The landlords were non-resident, and the collection of the rents was left to officials, not a few of whom were heartless scoundrels, who, in their exactions, rivalled Shylock, and scrupled not in cases of inability on the part of the tenants to pay rent, to force them with their wives and little ones from their cabins, and send them forth to the wide world as houseless beggars. The great body of these unfortunate people submitted quietly to their fate, whilst others, stung to madness by suffering

and oppression, committed crimes which excited horror, but which were the natural result of such cruel treatment. O'Connell was a powerful preacher of the doctrine that property has its duties as well as its rights, and his withering exposure of the evils under which Ireland groaned compelled attention to the sufferings of the people, and paved the way for those measures of amelioration which have been recently introduced, and which have produced the best results. It were strange indeed if Irishmen, and the friends of Ireland, in Halifax should not give expression to their feelings on the death of this truly great man, which occurred in this year. We find that a crowded meeting was held in Mason Hall for the purpose of adopting an address of condolence to the bereaved family of the patriot, and which recommended a month's mourning for one whose disinterested services to his country will ever be held in honorable remembrance. The principal speakers on the occasion were the Hon. E. Kenny, L. O'C. Doyle, Thomas Ring and D. Creamer.

In opening the Assembly in 1847, Sir John Harvey delivered a speech of more than ordinary length, calling the attention of the Legislature to the management of the roads, recommending the appointment of inspectors, under whose directions all road contracts should be made the subject of public competition—a system adopted in some of the sister colonies. He also referred to the suffering occasioned by the failure of the potatoe crop, recommending relief to the sufferers.

It was the desire of the Lieutenant-Governor to form a Government consisting of the leaders of both parties. He disclaimed the principle of equal numerical representation at the Council Board, and rejected the idea that questions should be decided in Council by a majority of votes. He also desired to be regulated in the distribution of patronage, as far as the public service would admit, by a just and equal regard to the claims of individuals of all classes. In order

to meet the views of the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Almon and Mr. Dodd offered to resign—the former his seat in the Council, and the latter the Solicitor-Generalship, leaving these positions open to the Opposition. This proposition was brought under the notice of the leaders of the Opposition by the Lieutenant-Governor. These gentlemen accordingly replied in a long communication, dated the seventh of December, 1847, in which they declined to accede to the proposal made, first because, considering the strength of the opposition, one office of subordinate importance was inadequate, secondly, because, except under peculiar circumstances coalitions rarely worked well, and thirdly, because though they should at all times be ready to act with gentlemen with whom they could agree on common measures, and in whose patriotism and discretion they confided, with the members of the existing Council they could enter into no political alliance, till the people of Nova Scotia decided between the parties at the polls. The letter in which these sentiments were expressed was signed by Joseph Howe, Lawrence O'C. Doyle, James McNab, and George R. Young—Mr. Wm. Young, the Speaker of the Assembly, in a supplementary memorandum signifying his approval of the decision of those gentlemen.

The autumn of 1847, found the Province in the excitement of a general election. The contest was keen but conducted on the whole with moderation and good feeling.

The New House met on Saturday, the twenty-second of January, 1848. The relative numerical position of parties was tested in the election of Speaker, when on the motion of Mr. Howe, Mr. William Young, member for Inverness, was elected by a vote of twenty-eight to twenty-two. On Monday Mr. J. B. Uniacke moved as an amendment to the address that the present Executive Council did not possess the confidence of the Assembly, which was seconded by Mr. Henry. After an exciting debate of three days duration the amend-

ment was carried by twenty-eight to twenty-one votes. On Friday the Attorney-General announced that in consequence of the vote of Wednesday, all the members of the Executive Council had tendered their resignation. On Saturday Mr. Uniacke was sent for by the Lieutenant Governor to assist in the formation of a new Administration, which was duly announced to the House as consisting of the following gentlemen :—James B. Uniacke, Michael Tobin, Hugh Bell, Joseph Howe, James McNab, Herbert Huntington, Wm. F. DesBarres, Lawrence O'C. Doyle and George R. Young.

During the Session a Committee on Education made a report in which the adoption of the principle of general assessment was earnestly recommended. The committee said the public might not yet be reconciled to such a change, but that the adoption of the principle might be hastened by the members of Assembly showing the advantages of it to their constituents. In 1847 the number of scholars in attendance in the common and superior schools was thirty-four thousand seven hundred and forty-six, nearly twenty-three thousand pounds being paid for their maintenance by the people, and ten thousand pounds in addition being drawn from the treasury.

In 1848, the people of Newfoundland, desirous that the same administrative privileges should be granted to them which had been conceded to Nova Scotia, sent an address to Her Majesty on the subject, when Lord Grey returned an answer to the effect that the present institutions in Newfoundland were, in the opinion of the Government, well calculated to meet the wants of the present state of society in that Colony. The Newfoundlanders congratulated the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, through the Speaker, on the attainment of the Constitution for which they had so long struggled. In acknowledging the receipt of the address, the Speaker, Mr. Young, said that he would rejoice to see the same principles extended to the island of Newfoundland

—expressing his conviction that the institutions of a country are most secure when they rest on a broad foundation, and the loyalty of the people concurs with their affections and their interests.

The centenary of the settlement of Halifax was celebrated on the eighth of June, 1849. At four o'clock in the morning a salute of one hundred guns was fired. The troops were reviewed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and a sham battle took place. There was a splendid procession during the day. The civic authorities, and prominent members of the centenary committee led the van; the press, decorated tastefully and drawn by four grey horses followed; then came the fire engines, gorgeously decorated; the charitable, Masonic, and African Societies succeeded; prominent places were assigned to the Aborgines; and a carriage conveyed several of the oldest natives of British origin. The procession, after traversing several of the principal streets, formed a hollow square on the Common. The orator of the day was Mr. Beamish Murdoch, who delivered an excellent oration. Mr. Joseph Howe composed a spirited song on the occasion, which has become the permanent natal song of Halifax, and of which the following are the two opening stanzas:—

"Hail to the day when the Britons came over,
And planted their standard with sea foam still wet!
Above and around us their spirits still hover,
Rejoicing to mark how we honor it yet."

"Beneath it the emblems they cherished are waving—
The rose of Old England the road sides perfumes,
The shamrock and thistle, the north winds are braving,
Securely the Mayflower blushes and blooms."

In the autumn of 1849, Mr. Joseph Outram—now of Halifax—published in the *Daily Mail*, Glasgow, a series of letters on the climate, soil, products, and capabilities of Nova Scotia, which were subsequently published in the form of a phamphlet by William Blackwood, jun., and which

were useful in directing public attention to the resources of the Province of which, at that time, profound ignorance prevailed in the Mother Country.

In this year the Government of Nova Scotia proposed a vote of about four thousand pounds for the construction of a telegraph line from Halifax to Amherst, which was to be connected with one to New Greenwich, and thence to the entire Continent of America. The bill passed without opposition—the investment turning out equally useful and profitable to the Province.

During the Session of the House of Assembly in 1850, the Hon. J. W. Johnston submitted a series of resolutions, in which he proposed that the Lieutenant-Governor, in consequence of the administrative changes recently introduced, should be paid entirely by the Imperial Government, or if the Province should be required to contribute any portion of his salary, one thousand pounds would fully meet the just proportion of the Colony—it being deemed unjust that so large a sum as three thousand pounds sterling should now be paid by the Province, and absurd that two hundred and fifty pounds, or any such sum, should be granted for the private secretary of an officer, who himself had but to subscribe the documents which others were required to prepare. Mr. Johnston proposed that the Legislative Council should be elected by the people for a limited period—the members going out by sections periodically. The speech made by Mr. Johnston in support of these resolutions was published seperately in combination with a long letter, addressed by the Honorable gentlemen to the constituency of the county of Annapolis, which he represented in the House of Assembly. On a division the resolutions were rejected by twenty-six to fourteen votes.

In November 1850, the Hon. S. Cunard published a letter in *The Sun* newspaper, vindicating the General Mining Association from the charge of having a monopoly of the

minerals of the Province, prejudicial to its interests. Mr Cunard directed attention to the fact that there were in the Province large districts in which the minerals were not reserved, and that the proprietors of the soil could, consequently, work them without the payment of royalty, and therefore on better terms than the Association, who were now paying six thousand pounds a year into the Provincial chest. In reply to Mr. Cunard's statements Mr. G. R. Young, chairman of the Committee of Mines and Minerals, wrote a series of letters in which he mentioned that the General Mining Association had obtained, and resolutely guarded a close and exclusive monopoly of all the workable belts of coal yet discovered in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. Whilst it must be admitted that there was, at the time this discussion took place, much unreasonable popular clamor against an Association which had invested a large capital in the development of coal, yet Mr. Young made it clear that the rights conceded to the General Mining Association were incompatible with the claims and prosperity of the country, and that the adjustment of the agreement under which the business of the company was prosecuted, and which was subsequently effected in the most amicable manner, was absolutely requisite to allay well-grounded irritation, and permanently secure the interests of the Province, as well as those of the Company.

Towards the close of the year 1850, Mr. Howe visited England, as a delegate, on business connected with a scheme by which it was proposed to connect Halifax by railway with the United States and Canada. Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, had sent a despatch to Sir J. Harvey, in September, 1850, in which he intimated, in reply to an application for the Imperial guarantee of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling for the construction of the roads, that the government could not recommend Parliament to accede to the proposition. The object of Mr. Howe's visit was to

enlighten the government on the subject, and induce them, if possible, to adopt a more liberal policy. He accordingly addressed two able letters to the Colonial Secretary on the subject of colonial railway construction, which attracted public attention; and addressed a large public meeting in Southampton, in which he discussed the general subject of emigration.

In the session of 1850, a commission, consisting of William Young, J. McCully, J. W. Ritchie and Jos. Whidden, who had been appointed for the purpose of consolidating and simplifying the laws of the Province, and who were assisted in the work by James Thomson, presented their final report. The labors of this commission were arduous as well as highly important, the character and legal attainments of the gentlemen to whom the work was entrusted being a satisfactory guarantee to the public as to the thoroughness and efficiency with which the work would be executed. The Commissioners concluded their report by modestly referring to the nature and extent of their labors in the following terms: "In the execution of the important and onerous trust committed to our charge, though we have been compelled to bestow an amount of labor, and a degree of attention which none of us in the first instance anticipated, there may be some imperfections or defects to be hereafter remedied. The main advantage to be derived from the work will be that the laws which regulate social life, protect and transmit property, determine political rights, and define the punishment of offences have been reduced to system, and clothed in simple and perspicuous language, so as to be intelligible to all who may have occasion to consult them. And as the present is the first attempt of the kind in a British colony, we must bespeak the indulgence of your Excellency, and of the public for the imperfections it may contain, and which are perhaps inseparable from so extensive an undertaking."

The questions raised by Mr. Howe's letters to the Colonial

Secretary having been under the deliberation of the British Government, their decision respecting them was communicated in a despatch, written by order of Earl Grey to Mr. Howe, under date the tenth of March, 1851, in which his Lordship stated that the necessary guarantee should be granted, or that the money required for the construction of the railway should be advanced from the British Treasury, on the condition that an arrangement were made with the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick, by which the construction of a line of railway through British territory, from Halifax to Quebec or Montreal, should be provided for to the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government. On Mr. Howe's return to Halifax, he was received with that degree of respect and enthusiasm to which his eminent public services entitled him, and the citizens of Montreal and Quebec, which cities after his return he had visited, delighted to do him honor. Our limits will not permit a statement of the reasons which led to the withdrawal of the offer of the Imperial guarantee—the main objection to the line proposed by the Provinces as urged by the British Government, of which Lord Derby was now the head, being that it was to run too close to United States territory, and might, in the event of war, be destroyed.

The Provinces were thus left to carry out their schemes with their own resources.

In September, 1851, died Herbert Huntington, a native of Yarmouth County, which he had faithfully and uninterruptedly represented for about eighteen years. His father came to Nova Scotia from Connecticut in the year 1784, being then twenty-one years of age, and is mentioned by Sabine in his history of the Loyalists. He was a near relative of the Samuel Huntington whose name appears as a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and who filled the position as President of the Connecticut Congress from the twenty-eighth of September, 1779, to the sixth of July, 1781. When in 1839 the House of Assembly decided on sending delegates to confer with the Colonial Secretary on the subject of Provincial grievances and wishes, Herbert Huntington was one of those chosen. On the reconstruction of the Executive Council, in compliance with the commands of the

Colonial Secretary, he was named as a member, but soon after resigned on discovering that the instructions of the Imperial Government were not carried out, and that he would be without influence or power among his colleagues. In the year 1849 he was chosen to fill the newly created office of Financial Secretary, which ill health obliged him to resign, as well as his position in the Council, to which after his resignation, he had been re-appointed.*

Sir John Harvey, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, died at Government House on the twenty-second of March, 1852. Sir John had entered the military service upwards of half a century previous to his death, and was with the British army which marched overland from India, and joined the forces in Egypt, where he subsequently served during the campaign which terminated in the expulsion of the French from that country. He had charge of the French *Savans*, whom he accompanied to the pyramids.

During the war with America in 1812 he served in Canada as Deputy Adjutant General, where he was opposed to General Scott; and so conspicuous was he for his gallant bearing, that the latter directed his men not to fire at such an enemy, owing to which he probably escaped unscathed. After the close of the war he returned to England, and was appointed to preside over the police force in Ireland, where he conducted himself in such a manner as to gain the affections and win the esteem of the people of that distracted and unhappy country. About the year 1835 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, at which time he held the rank of colonel. In 1837 he was appointed to the Government of New Brunswick, when he obtained the rank of Major General, and was the first of the Colonial Governors who was called upon to carry out the enlightened policy of the British Ministry with reference to responsible

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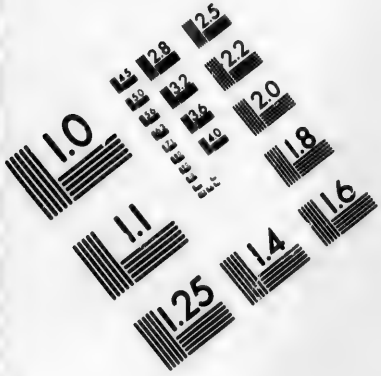
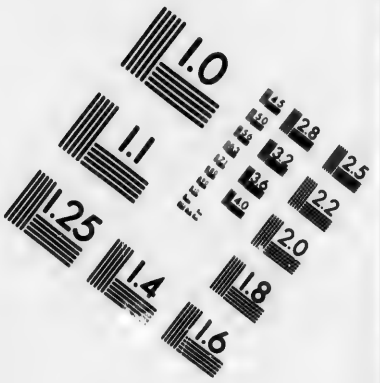
* For an admirable sketch of Mr. Huntington, see "The Provincial" Vol. 2, p. 427, which we regret our space will not permit us to insert, as we intended.





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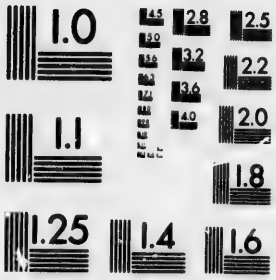

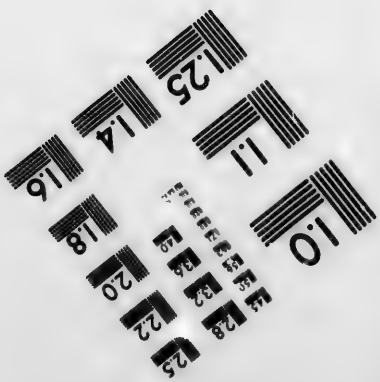

government—a task of much delicacy, but one well suited to his liberal turn of mind.

During his government of that Province the excitement took place in the State of Maine, with reference to the north eastern boundary, and it was owing to the judicious and conciliatory course pursued by the subject of this notice and General Scott that their respective countries were indebted for the preservation of peace, at a time when the slightest act of hostility would have precipitated a war. An arrangement was entered into by those gallant men, by which the troops and militia were to be withdrawn from the disputed territory till an arrangement should be entered into between the Government of Great Britain and that of the United States—an indirect infringement of which led to the recall of Sir John. Owing to an inroad from Maine, unauthorized by the authorities there, Lord Sydenham, the Governor General of Canada, sent a regiment to Madawaska, in the disputed territory, and Sir John, actuated by the high and chivalrous feeling that belonged to his profession, lost no time in explaining by letter to the Governor of Maine that the act was that of his superior in command, for which he could not be considered responsible. This step the Governor General considered disrespectful to himself, and the consequence was a representation to the Government of England that produced his immediate recall.

The explanations of Sir John, on his arrival in England, satisfied the British Ministry that the procedure by which he was removed from his government was not only precipitate but unjust, and he was immediately appointed Governor of Newfoundland, being the first military officer who had ever filled that station there—the government of the island having been previously held by a commander of the navy.

After remaining some time in Newfoundland, during which by his conciliatory demeanor, he restored public tranquility, and softened the asperity of faction, he was advanced to the

government of Nova Scotia with the local rank of Lieutenant-General.

In the year previous to his death, Lady Harvey, daughter of Lord Lake, expired at Halifax, to whom Sir John was devotedly attached, and of both it may be said

> "They loved in wintry age the same
> As first in youth they loved;"

and it was apparent to all who were acquainted with his kind and affectionate disposition that this disruption of one of the tenderest ties of life, in addition to his other bereavements, would hasten his own departure from the scene of all earthly cares and sorrows. An attack of illness which followed Lady Harvey's decease, induced Sir John to visit England, and he returned with apparently renovated health, but only to be laid beside the remains of his wife who had so recently preceded him to the tomb. Sir John was a man of noble and commanding stature, was possessed of considerable literary attainments, and wrote with much fluency and elegance. His duties were always discharged with strict impartiality and integrity, and he is yet spoken of in terms of the highest respect by men who knew him intimately.

On the death of Sir John Harvey, Colonel Bazalgette was appointed temporarily to administer the functions of the representative of the Queen.

The citizens of Halifax, fearing from reports which appeared in the English newspapers that the rights of fishery secured to British subjects by the Convention of 1818 might be yielded, by the British Government, without due regard to the national and commercial interests involved in their protection, held a large meeting in Mason Hall—called by the Mayor, Mr Andrew McKinlay—at which resolutions strongly condemnatory of any concession were passed, and which were subsequently handed to Sir John Gaspard Lesmarchant, who had recently been appointed Lieutenant-Governor,

for the purpose of being forwarded to the Imperial Government.

The Rev. Dr. Connolly having been appointed by Pius the Ninth to the dignity of the Episcopacy by being made Bishop of Fredericton, the Roman Catholics of the city presented the Revd. gentleman, on the eve of his departure, with a service of plate, and an address in which they alluded to his unceasing kindness to the poor and destitute, his attention to the sick—the devoted zeal with which, at the risk of his life, he had ministered on three different occasions to the spiritual and temporal relief of emigrants suffering from malignant typhus fever. To which part of the address the Bishop made the following noble reply: "In reference to any attendance on the sick, and the dangers to which my life has been exposed, the Catholic need scarcely be reminded that when the general welfare, or the cause of suffering humanity, or the still more important concern of man's salvation is at stake, for the Catholic priest no labor or danger—not even the certain prospect of death itself can be said to be a sacrifice. The right of self-preservation, under such circumstances, is foresworn in the very act of assuming the ministry of that great first High Priest who laid down his life for his flock, and who, by example as by word, has proclaimed the universal law that every good shepherd must do the same."

In September, 1855, the Governor General, Lord Elgin, with his lady—daughter of the late Lord Durham—visited Halifax on their way to England, to which his Lordship was returning after a most successful administration of the affairs of British North America. His reception was cordial, and suitable addresses were presented, in reply to one of which his Lordship remarked respecting Canada, that at no previous period of its history had it been as prosperous as it was now—at none had its inhabitants appeared more thoroughly to appreciate the greatness of the future, being

destined to exemplify the peculiar advantages and characteristics of British institutions and British manners—freedom without licentiousness—loyalty without abasement—the temperate use of prosperity—patient endurance of adversity, and above all, the faithful devotion to duty, which typefied in the career of an illustrious fellow subject—the Duke of Wellington who lately had passed away full of years and honors—did more to exalt the British name than all the enterprise of merchants, the wisdom of statesmen, and achievements of heroes by sea and land.

In 1854, Mr. Howe was appointed chairman of the Railway Board, and consequently resigned the office of Provincial Secretary. A reconstruction of the Administration being thus rendered necessary, the Honorable William Young, late Speaker of the Assembly, was charged by the Lieutenant-Governor with the task. Mr. Young occupied in the reconstructed government the post of Attorney General, the Honorable Lewis M. Wilkins that of Provincial Secretary, and the Honorable William A. Henry that of Solicitor General. The Honorable James B. Uniacke was made Commissioner of Crown Lands, in the place of Mr. John Spry Morris—the Commissioners for the construction and management of the projected lines of railway being, besides Mr. Howe as chairman, the Honorable Jonathan McCully, Messrs. Wm. Pryor, jun, John H. Anderson, Perez M. Cunningham, and Thomas S. Tobin. Mr. Wm. Annand was appointed Queen's Printer in the place of Mr. J. S. Thompson, resigned. From the appointments made four Parliamentary seats were vacated—the Attorney General, the Provincial Secretary and Solicitor General standing for re-election, and the constituency of Richmond being called upon to fill the seat vacated by their late representative, Mr. Uniacke. Mr. Wilkins had hitherto acted with the conservatives, but disapproving of their railway policy, became identified with the liberal party. Mr.

Young published a manifesto, in the form of a letter, to his constituents, the people of Inverness County, in which he presented a clear and able exposition of the principles by which the new government was to be guided, as well as of the position of the Province in relation to agriculture, commerce and finance. The members of the Administration were all re-elected—the Attorney General by acclamation, the Solicitor General by four hundred and twelve, and the Provincial Secretary by a majority of one hundred and twenty-six votes—the country thus clearly approving of the policy of the new Administration, of which the construction of the following lines of railway formed a part:—a trunk line from Halifax to Pictou, to connect the capital with the eastern counties—a line running westward to Windsor, and onward through the western counties to Digby, connecting Halifax with the Basin of Minas, and thus insuring easy and rapid communication with St. John, New Brunswick, Portland, and the whole railway system of Canada and the United States—a line from Truro to the frontier of New Brunswick, to form a part of any intercolonial line which Canada and that Province might hereafter make. The funds were to be raised by the issue of Provincial debentures, for the payment of the interest and principal of which the Provincial revenues, with the revenues of the roads, were pledged.

The Reciprocity Treaty, by which the commercial relations between the United States and the British North American Provinces were so much extended, was concluded at Washington on the fifth of June, 1854. The American Government had expressed the desire to the British Government that American fishermen should not be molested, if they at once used the privileges conferred by its stipulations without waiting for their ratification by the Colonial Legislatures; to which the British Government acceded. This premature step gave offence to the Colonies whose fishing interests were

involved, and Nova Scotia was specially indignant, more particularly as her interests were not directly represented at Washington, while the provisions of the treaty were under consideration, and because the United States Government had intimated its inability to grant interim reciprocal advantages.

The month of December found the Legislature in session for the purpose of considering the Reciprocity Treaty, which had already received the ratification of the Parliaments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. On the motion of the Attorney General, seconded by Mr. Johnston, Mr Henry C. D. Twining was appointed chief clerk in the place of Mr. Joseph Whidden, deceased, and Mr. Alexander James, assistant clerk—both mover and seconder spoke highly of the competency of those gentlemen, and of the ability and impartiality with which Mr. Whidden had discharged his onerous and delicate duties. On the Attorney General moving the second reading of the reciprocity bill, Mr. Johnston and Mr. Howe condemned in strong terms, but not stronger than the circumstance warranted, the conduct of the Imperial Government in concluding so important a treaty without consulting the Province whose interests were most deeply involved—expressions of condemnation in which it may be said, without exaggeration, the country thoroughly sympathized. The Assembly, however, had the good sense to pass the bill by a majority of thirty two to ten votes, whilst the temper of the House was clearly indicated by the character of the resolutions subsequently submitted by Mr. Howe and Mr. A. G. Archibald, vindicating the right of the Province to be consulted in questions so deeply affecting its material interests.

In the month of October an industrial exhibition was held in the Province building. On the occasion of its opening a procession took place, which the newspapers represented as the finest ever seen in the city of Halifax. It was about a

mile long, and comprised the firemen, the masonic and temperance bodies, the national schools, &c., and was headed by the pipers of the Highland regiment, and the band of the Seventy-Second regiment. The exhibition was regarded as successful, particularly in the mineral department. The greatest deficiency was in the mechanical section. The ladies of the Province, with their usual zeal and industry, sent a profusion of beautiful specimens of needle work displaying so much taste that it excited general admiration.

The year 1854 will be remembered in British history as that in which war was declared by England and France against Russia. The intelligence reached Halifax in April, but excited no surprise, as the long premonitory indications of hostilities rendered their occurrence certain.

During the session of 1855, a prohibitory liquor bill was introduced. The Hon. J. W. Johnston, in moving the second reading of the bill, traced the progress of public opinion on the subject, referring to the success which had attended the adoption of the prohibitory law in the United States, and the recommendation of the King of Sweden to his Parliament to introduce such a measure. He contended for the prohibition of importation, as well as the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Mr. Howe delivered a long speech on the subject, which was a curious conglomeration of solid and unsound argument—of lively humor and transparent fallacy. He said:

That our Saviour, and David and Solomon drank wine; that the Apostles had not forbidden the use of it—the world had come down to the present period from the most remote antiquity with the wine cup in its hand; so far as his reading had extended every king, every statesman who had illustrated the page of history drank wine. Cicero and Demosthenes, and all the orators of antiquity and of modern times had indulged in the juice of the grape. Who, asked the honorable gentleman, can tell how much of the inspiration which gave them such power of language was drawn from its use? What orators have the State of Maine sent forth comparable with the Pitts and Burkes,

the Foxs and Sheridans of the British Isles, every one of whom drank wine. Let us glance at the noble structures—the architectural wonders that embellish Europe. Who reared them? Men of gigantic intellect whose common beverage was wine. Let the eye range through the noble galleries where the sculptors have left their statues—where the painters have hung in rich profusion the noblest works of art. Wine, we are told, clouds the faculties and deadens the imagination. Yet it was drunk by those benefactors of their race, and we cannot, with their masterpieces before us, believe the assertion, till their works have been eclipsed by artists trained up under this rigorous illustration. Has Maine turned us out a statue that anybody would look at—a picture that anybody would buy? Look at the deliverers of mankind; the heroic defenders of nations. Was Washington a member of the Temperance Society? Did not Wallace "drink the red wine through the helmet barred?" Who will undertake to say that Bruce, on the morning on which he won the battle of Bannockburn, that Tell on that day when he shot the apple off his son's head, had not tasted a glass of whiskey or a stoup of wine?

If then, continued the orator, all that is valuable in the past—if heroism and architecture, and oratory, sculpture and painting—if all that has bulwarked freedom and embellished life, has come down to us with the juice of the grape; if no age or nation has been long without it, I think it behoves the advocates of this bill to show us some country where this system has been tried—some race of men who drank nothing but cold water.

Mr. Howe assumed that the heroism of the patriot, the genius of the statesman, the poet and the orator were, if not the natural result of the use of wine, at least a necessary adjunct to the exercise and manifestation of these rare qualities. But something more than bare assertion is necessary to establish either of these assumptions, and of the process of reasoning by which it can be done, we candidly confess our ignorance. The eloquence of Demosthenes or Sheridan, the poetic inspiration of Shakespeare or Milton, or the artistic genius of Reynolds or Turner might have shone forth as brightly from the use of pure water as of wine. It is true that the inspiring glories of the latter have been paraded by poets, while the substantial qualities of the former have remained comparatively unhonored and unsung; but the elements which go to form the mysterious functions

of brain which constitute genius, may be more allied to water than wine. We are inclined to think that Howe was in much the same humor in composing his speech on the Liquor Prohibition Bill as Burns when he extolled with poetic ardor the inspiring virtues of Scotch ale as compared with the juice of the grape:

Let other poets raise a fracas
'Bout vines and wines an' drunken Bacchus,
An' crabbit names an' stories wrack us
An' grate our lug,
I sing the juice Scotch Beare* can mak us,
In glass or jug.

O thou my Muse! guid auld Scotch drink,
Whether through wimpling worms thou jink,
Or, richly brown, ream o'er the brink
In glorious faem,
Inspire me, till I lisp and wink,
To sing thy name!

That the most majestic and sublime poem in English literature was not composed under the influence of alcoholic liquor is certain, for Milton, in his literary musings, before he wrote a line of his great epic, and when doubtful as to the form which the coming creation of his genius, then floating across his imagination, might take, eloquently wrote:— "Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet, I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth *or the vapours of wine*, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame memory and her syren daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with

* Barley.

the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases." With the utmost deference to Mr. Howe it may be safely asserted that while it would be impossible to prove that the common use of intoxicating stimulants has contributed to the formation of one good brain, it has proved the destruction and degradation of thousands of the best brains. Again, while temperance in all things will ever continue to be a virtue, abstinence, when observed for the sake of example, is a still higher type of virtue; and, so far as personal protection against the contraction of the vice of intemperance is concerned, while all drunkards were once temperate, temperate men may, and in many cases do become drunkards, but abstinent men never can.

The prohibition bill, proposed in the Assembly in 1855, was not adopted, and if it had been adopted it is exceedingly questionable whether its stringent provisions would have contributed to the eradication of the evil of intemperance. The question is invested with peculiar interest at present, as two committees—one of the Senate and one of the House of Commons—reported on the subject of a prohibitory Dominion liquor law during last session—that of 1873. The facts presented in the committee of the Commons are certainly startling. The number of petitions presented to the House, praying for a prohibitory law, was three hundred and eighty-four, signed by about forty thousand persons. Petitions were also received, in addition to that number, from eighty-two municipalities, and the Legislature of the Province of Ontario. In answer to questions sent to sheriffs, prison inspectors, coroners, and police magistrates of Ontario, replies to the number of one hundred and fourteen were received, which went to show that four-fifths of the crime committed in that Province—answers not having been received from the other Provinces—were directly or indirectly connected with the manufacture, sale, and consumption of intoxicating

liquor. Of the twenty-eight thousand two hundred and eighty-nine commitments to the jail for the three previous years, twenty-one thousand two hundred and thirty-six were either for drunkenness, or for crimes perpetrated under the influence of drink.

The revenue arising from the liquor traffic in the Dominion amounted last year, 1872, to the enormous sum of five million thirty-four thousand five hundred and forty-five dollars. The Committee think that, in the event of prohibition, the large traffic now invested in the business would be devoted to purposes of general trade—thus adding to the wealth of the country, and compensating for the loss of revenue.

The Committee reported to the House of Commons that they had made an inquiry into the operation and effect of the prohibition liquor law in the State of Maine, and had come to the conclusion from the evidence before them—which appears in their report—that a prohibitory law in the Dominion would mitigate, if not entirely remove the evils of intemperance, and it consequently recommends the adoption of a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors, except for medicinal and mechanical purposes.

A candid perusal of the evidence adduced by the Committee will produce the conviction that the evils arising from intemperance are not by any means exaggerated, though they may fail to lead to the general conclusion so unreservedly expressed by them. A number of gentlemen of undoubted respectability assert that the law has operated in the repression of intemperance, and that its general effects have been to lessen the consumption of intoxicating liquors in the State. The evidence so far as Maine is concerned, presents, however, no *data* for the guidance of the House of Commons, beyond the simple expression of an opinion to the effect that the sale of liquor in the State now is greatly diminished as

compared with the sale twenty-three years ago, when the prohibitory law came into operation. It is impossible to estimate the quantity of liquor now used in the State, because its sale is illegal; but why not obtain statistics as to crime? and if there has been a great falling off in the consumption of intoxicants, prove the fact by showing a corresponding diminution in the number of criminal convictions in proportion to population. The writer fears that this test might not be favorable to the views of the advocates of prohibition. Four years after the adoption of the law in Maine, a gentleman visited Portland for the purpose of testing statements as to the wonderful improvement in the condition of that city in consequence of the prohibitory law. From the official records of the county of Cumberland, which, for judicial purposes, was united to Portland, he found, to his own astonishment as well as that of the public, that the number of persons charged in that county with crimes and offences in 1850—the year *before* the law passed—was *four hundred and ninety-two*, whilst in 1854 the number was *seven hundred and thirty-four*—leaving ten days of the latter year to run!—and further, that the number charged with drunkenness in 1854 was greater than it was in the year before the prohibitory law was enacted. These facts were furnished by the correspondent of the *Toronto Leader*, reproduced in the *Montreal Gazette*, corroborated by the editor of the *State of Maine*—remaining, so far as we know, uncontradicted till this day.*

* Since writing the above we find the following statement in the "Edinburgh Review," for April, 1873:—"We need hardly say that the success of prohibitive legislation in America is not sufficiently decisive to justify us in following transatlantic methods of reform. When Mr. Plimsoll, M.P., reached Portland, the chief city of Maine, a year ago, he discovered no less than three hundred public houses in the city, and heard of three thousand arrests for drunkenness in a single year, though the sale of intoxicating drinks is entirely forbidden by law. Thirteen varieties of whiskey were offered to him by the barkeeper of a Portland public house. Both Dr. Parrish and Dr. Dodge,

The question, however, presents itself: Is it possible in the present state of society to enforce a law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks to such an extent as will ensure respect for the majesty of the law, and the enforcement of which is not likely to prove more prejudicial to the morality of the people than the sale, under proper restrictions, of the articles prohibited? This question we unhesitatingly answer, at the hazard of being regarded as presumptuous, in the negative. The numerous class who think there is no harm in drinking beer or ardent spirits, do not scruple to evade or violate a law which they believe to interfere unduly with their natural rights. The administrators of the law become impregnated with the popular sentiment, and the result is laxity in its enforcement. Hence we find in Maine constant complaints as to the execution of the law. "There is much complaint," says Governor Perham of Maine, in a message to the Legislature, "that in many parts of the State the law is not executed as it should be. I am not unmindful of the fact that no law can be enforced through any instrumentality, however efficient in itself, for a term of years, unless it be sustained by the public sentiment of the people." Mr. ex-Mayor Putman, Portland, Maine, informs the Com-

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the two medical witnesses from America who gave evidence before Mr. Dalyrmple's Committee, asserted that the prohibition laws of the various States were not enforced, but evaded in a hundred ways, and it is always a question with Dr. Parrish whether the demoralization of society in creating a sense of disrespect to the law, and all sorts of manœuvres to escape it, was not as great an evil as drinking liquor. The idea of dealing with a bad habit, by endeavoring to remove the means of its indulgence, *without the power of doing it*, is the most preposterous and clumsy that ever entered the human mind."

Under a general State Law, we would observe, the importation of liquor into the State of Maine is perfectly legal, and this legal sanction to introduce the article in any quantity into the State, and the strict prohibition to sell it after it has been introduced, cannot be characterized otherwise than as a supremely absurd, as well as pernicious paradox. An intelligent gentleman, who accompanied excursionists connected with the Press of Maine to Halifax this summer, acknowledged to the writer the utter inefficiency of the law as applying to large cities.

mittee of the Dominion Commons, that in large towns and cities he has not observed, for the most part, any substantial difference in the drinking of the State of Maine as compared with other States. But if the aggregate evils resulting from the existence of the prohibitory law be summed up, they will be found to counterbalance the good effects of the measure. The notorious laxity in the administration of the law is sapping the foundation of respect for other laws regarding which a healthy moral sentiment should exist. It is impossible that there can be in any country a notorious violation with impunity of one law without affecting prejudicially the equity of the general judicial administration. In the United States, unfortunately, the punishment of the murderer according to law is the exception not the rule, and the effect of such laxity has a marked demoralizing tendency. But we have not far to travel to find proof of the futility of legal prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors, and of laxity of administration. In counties in Nova Scotia, where a prohibitory law exists, the article is sold with impunity at open bars, under the very eyes of the men who are the recognized guardians of the statute. When a law ceases to be respected to such a degree as to be publicly violated without even remark, the sooner it is abolished the better. Far better that no restriction whatever were put on the sale of liquor, than that such a lamentable state of things should exist.

That temperance societies have effected a vast reformation in the drinking habits of society cannot be denied. So long as their operations are confined to the creation of a healthy moral sentiment by appeals to reason, and the devising of means by which the popular desire for amusement and excitement may be innocently gratified, their influence must continue to strengthen and extend, but the moment an appeal is made to coercion as the instrument of reformation their beneficent action is in danger of being neutralized.

In order that the other side of the question may be fully presented, the writer submits the following statement furnished by Mr. J. Parsons, the Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia:

"In August, 1872, I spent more than a week in different parts of the State of Maine, noticing especially the drinking habits of the people, and comparing Maine with the Maritime Provinces of Canada. In Calais, a seaport town of about seven hundred inhabitants, during four days' stay, I saw but one drunken man, and he had just come across the bridge from New Brunswick. No rowdyism was observed during my stay, but in St. Stephen, N. B., a smaller place, though supporting a dozen or more rum shops, there was a good deal of noise especially at night and around the taverns."

"Reliable men informed me that there was no place in Calais where liquors were sold except at the druggist's, for medicinal purposes—that although some places during the first years of prohibition sold in defiance of law, yet latterly these had all been stamped out; that now vessels occasionally bring small quantities, but the constables are on the alert and seize and destroy it; that the chief difficulty now arises from their proximity to N. B., where some persons do go to get liquor, but their general quietness was what I witnessed, and that not a tithe of the crime and pauperism now exists in comparison with the year preceding the introduction of the Maine law. After narrating these facts at a public meeting in Nova Scotia, an old gentlemen rose, and stated what he witnessed in Calais twenty-seven years ago—four or five open rum shops in Main street, and noise and rowdyism about the taverns and streets by day and by night."

"I traversed Maine by rail, stopping at Bangor and Portland, and passing through Augusta and many large towns, amidst the excitement of a Presidential election, but saw no liquor and no drunken men, and altogether became strongly impressed with the success of prohibition. When inquiring in several cities if liquors could be purchased, the reply was: 'Yes, in the same way that stolen goods can be procured, or other violations of the law indulged in.' Maine believes that her law has been beneficial, as the testimony of her public men, and the votes recorded year after year abundantly prove. Liquor selling is driven entirely out of hundreds of towns and villages, and very greatly repressed in the cities and seaports."

Mr. Parsons adds, in regard to Nova Scotia that in Lockport, Barrington, Hantsport, Maitland, Sherbrooke, and Milton, Queen's County, and many smaller settlements the law is effectually enforced.

CHAPTER XVIII.

General election of 1855—News of the fall of Sebastopol—Captain Vicars—Captain Parker and Major Welford—Presentation to General Williams by the Legislature—Conclusion of the Crimean War—Mr. Howe's letter on railway riots and Catholic commentators—Change of Government—The General Mining Association—Debate on the subject of coal mines—The Indian Mutiny—Major General Inglis—First Atlantic cable—Appointment of Earl Mulgrave as Governor—Resignation of M. J. Wilkins—General election of 1859—Majority of the Opposition—Disqualification of several members—Opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown—Resignation of the Government—Arrival of the Prince of Wales at Halifax—His reception—Death of Chief Justice Haliburton—His life—Martyrdom of Rev. G. W. Gordon and wife at Eromango—Martyrdom of Rev. J. D. Gordon and John Williams—Death of Prince Albert.

THERE was a general election in the Province in 1855. The county in which the keenest contest took place was Cumberland, where Dr. Tupper and Mr. A. McFarlane defeated the Hon. Joseph Howe, and the Hon. Stephen Fulton. The result was regarded as a great victory by the Conservatives, and the defeat of their most prominent champion was felt keenly by the Reformers.

Early in September, Sebastopol fell, and the news arrived in Halifax on Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of that month. The intelligence caused great rejoicings. The Volunteer Artillery and the Union Engine Company turned out and joined in a torchlight procession. Some of the private buildings were illuminated, and there was a large bonfire on the Parade. The enthusiasm in Halifax was quite as intense on the occasion as in any city in England, and as the news reached the country unbounded satisfaction was expressed.

In the Crimea, a gallant soldier had fallen who was well-known to some of the citizens of Halifax, and of whose death intelligence had reached the city some time previously. We refer to Captain Hedley Vicars, of the Ninety-sev nth Regiment, who under the ministry of Dr. Twining of the Garrison Church became a courageous soldier of the cross. On the night of the twenty-second of March, 1855, Captain Vicars commanded a detachment in the trenches. That night, fifteen thousand Russians attacked the lines of the Allies. His eye was the first to recognize the advancing columns. He made his men lie down till they were within twenty yards, and then fire on the enemy. "Nothing," said Lord Raglan, in his official despatch, "could be more distinguished than the gallantry and good example which he showed to the men under his command." Captain Vicars fell from a ball fired so close to his person that his clothes were singed, and the brave soldier and good Christian passed from earth to heaven.

Honorably associated, also with the war in the Crimea, stand two Nova Scotians, Captain William B. C. A. Parker and Major Augustus Frederick Welsford, to whom a monument was erected in the burying ground in Pleasant Street, Halifax, in 1860, at the public inauguration of which an admirable oration was delivered by the Rev. George W. Hill, of St. Paul's Church, to whom we are indebted for the following interesting facts:

The great grandfather of Captain Parker was the Honorable Benjamin Green, who was a native of Massachusetts, and came to the Province before Halifax was settled, and was appointed Secretary of the Colony—holding that office in 1748. On the arrival of Governor Cornwallis in the following year, Mr. Green was sworn in as one of his Councillors, having been also made Treasurer, and when Governor Wilmot died in 1766, he was elected for the time being to the high post of Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Upon the appointment by the Crown of the Right Honorable Lord William Campbell to the Governorship, Mr. Green resumed his ordinary rank and duties, but was again summoned to assume the reins of adminis-

tration for both Governor and Lieutenant-Governor in 1771, and discharged with ability the duties of these high offices for nearly a year, when he died. His son, Benjamin, succeeded him in the office of Treasurer, one of whose daughters married an officer of the army—Captain Samuel Smith Parker, of the Sixty-fourth Regiment, and was the mother of the subject of this very brief notice. Captain Parker was born in Lawrencetown near Halifax, was educated at the Horton Academy, under the Rev. John Pryor, and his mother, who had become a widow, obtained a commission for him in October, 1839. He was gazetted as Ensign to the same regiment in which his father had obtained his company, and was for a short time stationed in Halifax. He was a member of the Saint George's Society, by some of the members of which he is yet affectionatly remembered. In February, 1843, Parker became Lieutenant, and exchanged to the Seventy-eighth Highlanders. For twelve years he served in India, and was promoted as Captain to the Seventy-seventh Regiment in January, 1855. He enjoyed his rank only a few months. On the third of September he had an opportunity of showing martial bravery, and he fully manifested it. Having accompanied Captain Pechell of the same regiment, a gallant young officer, to post some sentinels in the advanced trench near the Redan, the whole party, with the exception of Captain Parker and one man, was killed by the enemy. Having sent this man to report the circumstance, a number of Russians rushed out from the ranks to make him a prisoner, when he ably defended himself, shot two of them with his revolver, and eventually succeeded in bringing into the camp the body of his friend. For his conduct on this occasion he is said to have received the thanks of the General commanding the Light Division, and was recommended for the Victoria cross. This brave soldier fell in the final attack on the Redan on the eighth of September, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, leaving a widow and three infant children to lament his death.

Major Welsford was a native of Halifax. His father was Lieutenant-Colonel Welsford, of the Hundred and First Regiment—his mother being the daughter of Philip Marchington, a merchant of some note and property in the city. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, who honored her husband with his personal friendship, was the godfather of her son. Whilst still young, Welsford was sent to England in order to be educated. After a short stay he was brought back to Halifax, and sent to the Grammar School. He afterwards went to the University of King's College, Windsor. On leaving college he purchased a commission and was gazetted as Ensign to the Ninty-fifth Regiment in February, 1832, became Lieutenant in 1834, obtained his Company in 1838, and was promoted to a Majority in 1850. On the return of the regiment from Corfu about 1848, Major Welsford resumed his acquaintance with his old friends, and made many new ones.

His genial disposition, his accomplishments in the fine arts, his general information, accumulated from reading, observation, and mingling much with men of different nations, rendered him a pleasant and agreeable companion.

Like Captain Parker he was a member of the St. George's Society and equally esteemed. For his college he entertained the warmest affection, enrolling himself as a contributor to the incorporated association of the Alumni. His name is blended for the future with this seat of learning, by the foundation of a prize annually competed for by the students in their first year; and as each anniversary of his death occurs his gallant and loyal deeds are commemorated in Latin, and in the same hall where his voice was once a familiar sound, the President of the University presents the successful candidate with the Welsford Testimonial, founded by his old friend and class-mate, Dr. W. J. Almon—now one of the members for the City of Halifax in the Dominion Parliament.

When the Ninety-seventh was ordered to England he accompanied the regiment, and after having spent some little time at Chobham camp went to Greece, in the latter part of the year 1854. Colonel Lockyer having been suddenly promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, the command of the regiment devolved on Major Welsford for some time during the trying winter before Sabastopol. He, too, fell at the storming of the Redan. The Ninty-seventh had furnished three hundred and sixty men—one hundred and sixty for the ladder, and two hundred for the storming party. The former were under the command of Major Welsford, who had always been ambitious to take a foremost part in the assault. As early as six o'clock a.m. the regiment paraded, and each party marched to their respective stations. Eight men were told off to each ladder, and they had orders only to leave the trench when the appointed signal was given from the Malakoff. Six long weary hours of suspense were they compelled to wait, when Major Welsford's eye caught the rocket signal which told that the tri-color of France was waving on the captured tower, and first gave the word "ladders to the front." As lions roused from their lair the brave cohort rushed towards the Redan, and reaching the deep ditch, placed their ladders and scaled the parapets in the face of a murderous fire. The storming column followed on. As Welsford gallantly led his men, and was endeavoring to enter the ranks, his head was severed from his body. He, too, was a decided Christian, and had borne testimony to the piety and devotion to military duty of his friend Vicars who had fallen before him. "It was a bitter hour for us all"—writes one of the Sergeants of his regiment, "when the poor Major's body was brought back to us. Had he lived he would have been crowned with laurels. Let us hope he has won a brighter crown now."

Early in January, 1856, intelligence of the fall of Kars had reached Halifax, of which General Williams, a native of the town of Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, was the hero. With courage and skill which excited the admiration of Europe, Williams defended Kars, and only surrendered with a few thousand men when pressed by absolute starvation, and successful resistance had become hopeless. It was meet that the services of so distinguished a Nova Scotian should be acknowledged by the House of Assembly. The Attorney General—Mr. Young—accordingly, moved that His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor should be respectfully requested to expend one hundred and fifty guineas in the purchase of a sword, to be presented to General Williams as a mark of the high esteem in which his character as a man and a soldier, and more especially his heroic courage and constancy in the defence of Kars, were held by the Legislature of his native Province. The Hon. J. W. Johnston seconded, in eloquent terms, the resolution, which passed unanimously. As to General Williams' appreciation of the honour conferred upon him we have evidence in an extract from a letter which he addressed to a gentleman in Halifax under date of May the twenty-eighth, 1856, from Berlin: "How thankful I ought to be, and indeed am, to God for having spared me through so many dangers, to serve the Queen in such a manner as to obtain her approbation, and the good will of all my countrymen on both sides of the water. Of all the proofs which I have, or shall receive of this too general sentiment in my favor, the sword voted to me by the Nova Scotians is the most acceptable to my heart; and when I again come in sight of the shores of that land where I first drew my breath, I shall feel that I am a thousand times requited for all I have gone through during the eventful years of the last terrible struggle." Equally in France, in Russia, in Turkey and in England were the sagacity, skill and courage of General Williams appreciated.

The British Queen conferred upon him a baronetcy, and Parliament voted him a pension of one thousand pounds sterling.

In the month of June, 1856, the citizens of Halifax held a holiday, expressive of their satisfaction with the peace which had been recently concluded after a short but bloody struggle, and honorable to the allies who had successfully resisted Russian domination against Turkey. An address was forwarded to Her Majesty by the Mayor, and one of welcome and congratulation presented to the Sixty-second and Sixty-third regiments, who had arrived in the city from the Crimea. On the same day the foundation stone of the Provincial Asylum, which is admirably conducted, and highly creditable to the Province, was laid with masonic honors—the venerable and much esteemed Grand Master, the Honorable Alexander Keith, presiding.

In the *Morning Chronicle* of the twenty-seventh of December, appeared a letter from the pen of the Honorable Joseph Howe, entitled, "Railway Riots and Catholic Commentators," in which he criticised statements which had appeared in the *Halifax Catholic*, in reference to the provocation which induced men of that persuasion, employed in the construction of the railway, to attack Protestants, injuring their persons, and destroying their property. The editor of the *Catholic* contended "that the Catholics had a right to assist at Mass on the feast of Corpus Christi," and their Protestant fellow workmen had no right to jeer or taunt them for so doing. Mr. Howe, who had previously expressed himself in Temperance Hall strongly and justly in condemnation of the brutal outrage committed, contended in his letter that, "every Protestant in every free country had a right to laugh at the Real Presence, as every Catholic had to ridicule that in which he disbelieved, or to laugh at the simple ceremonies which the Protestant deemed sufficient." Mr. Howe's letter seems to have been written

under great irritation and excitement. He advocated principles which, in cooler moments, we are satisfied his judgment would not have approved. The *Catholic* did not vindicate the outrage committed, but simply condemned the provocation which led to it, asserting, " that knowing how sensitive the Irish people are to every thing which affects their religion or the character of their clergy, Protestants of any nation, who are brought in contact with them, would show better their respect for the precepts of the Bible if they abstained from those taunts and provocations, and from actions in which they were too prone to indulge." These remarks were equally temperate and just, and assuming that the rites and doctrines which the Catholic regards as most sacred were made the subject of derision, any one acquainted with the impulsive character of the uneducated Irishman might have predicted the effect which would be produced. Religion is a matter between man and his Creator, with the due exercise of which, when no law is infringed, no one has any right to interfere. The professed Christian—whether Protestant or Catholic—who attempts to ridicule even the rude attempts of a heathen to worship *his* God, not only takes the most effectual means of steeling the mind of that heathen against the religion which he—the professed Christian—would inculcate, but deserves, if not to get his head broken, at least the contempt or commiseration of every true believer.

Mr. Howe's violent letter damaged the Government to such an extent that on the House meeting, Mr. Johnston proposed a vote of want of confidence, seconded by Mr. Marshall, which after twelve days debate was carried by twenty eight to twenty-one votes.

The Honorable Mr. Johnston was sent for by the Lieutenant Governor, and requested to form an Administration. The "Gazette" of the twenty-fourth of February, 1856, announced that the Executive Council consisted of James W.

Johnston, Michael Tobin, Staley Brown, John McKinnon, John J. Marshall, John Campbell, Martin J. Wilkins, Charles Tupper, and Charles J. Campbell. Mr. Johnston was Attorney General; Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary; John J. Marshall, Financial Secretary; Staley Brown, Receiver General, and Martin J. Wilkins, provisionally, Solicitor General. The four Government candidates, on an appeal to their respective constituencies, were returned by considerable majorities.

It is only fair to acknowledge that the new Administration manifested commendable vigor in the conduct of public business. One of the first questions with respect to which they were determined, if possible, to arrive at a satisfactory solution related to the important subject of the coal mines of the Province. George the Fourth had granted to his brother, the Duke of York, a lease of the ungranted mines and minerals of Nova Scotia, which he transferred in 1825 to the firm of Rundell, Bridge and Company on the condition of their paying to His Royal Highness a share of the profits derived from working them. The firm failing in discovering copper ore, in which Nova Scotia was reputed to abound, directed their attention to the coal of the Province, and for the working of that valuable mineral formed the General Mining Association. Successive Provincial Governments contended that the King had no right to lease the minerals without the consent of the people, through their representatives, and the consequence was a chronic state of agitation on the subject, which continued for years, but which failed to result in any satisfactory arrangement. In 1845 the Crown had entered into certain agreements with the Mining Association, the substance of which was embodied in a Treasury minute, and in conformity with which a contract was framed in 1849. Meanwhile the Civil List Act of 1849 had passed in the Provincial Legislature, by which the legal estate of the Crown was vested in that body.

Any lease, therefore, which gave a legal title must emanate from the Assembly of Nova Scotia. Mr. Wm. Young—the late Attorney General—had expressed a very decided opinion to that effect, which was subsequently corroborated by the Crown officers of England. Thus a dead lock was presented in the conduct of the mining business of the country. The Government therefore resolved, if possible, to settle all existing disputes, and with that view proposed to the Assembly, in the session of 1857, a resolution to the effect that if the Provincial Government should find it necessary, for effecting a satisfactory compromise of this question to employ Commissioners, the House would authorize the selection by the Government of two members, prominently representing the different views held in the House on the subject, who should have power to effect a settlement of the controversy, provided both Commissioners should agree thereto, subject, however, to the ratification of the Legislature—and the House would provide for the expense.

In accordance with this resolution Mr. Johnston, the Attorney General, and Mr. A. G. Archibald, a prominent member of the Opposition, were deputed to proceed to England in the month of June, 1857. Having reported their arrival to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, they were put in communication, by Her Majesty's Government, with the Directors of the General Mining Association. The duties of the mission with which these gentlemen were charged were performed with tact and judgment, the result being the consummation of an agreement by which the rights of the Association were effectually secured, and thus increased enterprise was stimulated, and the remaining mineral wealth of the Province permanently placed under the guardianship of the representatives of the people. It is only due to the late Samuel Cunard to state, in connection with so important a portion of the history of Nova Scotia, that the delegates, in a letter addressed to the Honorable Dr. Tupper, the Pro-

vincial Secretary of the Province, reporting the progress of the negotiations, under date London, 31st July, 1857, stated that Mr. Cunard attended at their deliberations regularly, and that his superior local information was of great advantage in the conduct of business, enabling him to perceive and urge on the Directors that the concessions to the Province, believed to be excessive, were to a large extent compensated by the unembarrassed use of what was reserved. The debate in the Assembly on the arrangement entered into, and for the completion of which the formal sanction of the House was required, was conducted with more than ordinary ability. On the vote being taken on the twenty-second of February, 1858, the action of the delegates was backed by thirty votes to nineteen. While a perusal of the speeches delivered in opposition leads to the conviction that not a few sound arguments were urged in favor of delay, yet when a student of the coal question thinks of the many years that had elapsed since the contest between the General Mining Association and the people had begun, that the delegates had combated ably and manfully for the interests of the country, with the sanguine expectation of being supported by the Assembly, and that not one principle of an address to the Queen, which had passed in 1856 in the Assembly, and on which the agreement between the delegates and the Association was based, had been sacrificed, he will probably feel constrained to admit that the House, in ratifying an agreement which has proved of vast importance to the full development of the mineral resources of the Province, acted most wisely.

The Indian mutiny occurred in the year 1859, during which the courage and endurance of the British forces were put to the severest test. In the defence of Lucknow there was a Nova Scotian hero who so distinguished himself as to have received the thanks of the British Parliament, his service having been noticed in the most complimentary terms

by leading statesmen of all parties—we refer to Major-General Sir John Inglis, K.C.B., who was the son of the Right Revd. John Inglis, Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, whose father was the Revd. Dr. Charles Inglis, the first Protestant Bishop in the British Colonies, having been consecrated for the See of Nova Scotia in the year 1787. Young Inglis entered the army as ensign in a foot regiment in 1833, served with the the second regiment in Canada during the rebellion of 1837, and was present at the actions of St. Denis and St. Eustache. He took part in the Punjaub campaign of 1848–49, and was present at the first and second siege operations before Mooltan, including the attack on the enemy's position in front of the advanced trenches on the twelth of September, where, after the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Pattoud, he succeeded to the command of the right column of attack. He commanded the Thirty-second regiment at the action of Soorjkooned, and he was also present at the storming and capture of the city and surrender of the fortress of Mooltan, the surrender of the fortress and garrison of Cheinote, and the battle of Goojerat, for which services he received the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, together with a medal and clasps. At Lucknow, General Inglis defended himself with a feeble band for eighty-seven days against the attacks of fifty thousand rebels, till at length he was relieved after a resistance which has been pronounced without precedent in modern warfare. The Assembly of his native province presented him with a sword—a mark of distinction which was never more gallantly won. Lord Panmure said in the House of Commons that in the history of the defence of fortified places in modern times, scarcely a single instance exhibited a list of privations so great, endured for so long a period, or with a front so dauntless, and ending with a success so complete as the defence of Lucknow; and Lord Derby, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Disraeli spoke in the same strain.

The ladies of Halifax were not unmindful of Lady Inglis,

for in April, 1858, they presented to her, through a deputation of Nova Scotians, headed by Sir Samuel Cunard, a splendid copy of the Bible. The book was bound in dark purple morocco, mounted with chased gilt claps and corner pieces, bearing the national Emblems, the rose, thistle, and shamrock, with the modest mayflower.

On the fifth of August, 1858, telegraphic communication between Europe and the Continent of America was completed. The Telegraph fleet sailed from Queenstown, in Ireland, on Saturday, the seventeenth of July, and arrived at mid-ocean on Wednesday, the twenty-eighth. Next day two of the ships, whose complement of the cable had been paid out, returned to England—the Niagara and Gorgon leaving for Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, where the cable was landed. The intelligence was received with great joy in Halifax and elsewhere, and duly celebrated. The first message sent was one from the Queen of England to the President of the United States; the second was his reply.

"World! what a wonder is this?
Grandly and simply sublime:
All the Atlantic abyss
Leapt in a moment of time."

In this year Sir J. Gaspard Le Marchant was succeeded in the office of Lieutenant-Governor by the Earl of Mulgrave.

In January, 1859, Mr. Martin I. Wilkins, member for Pictou county and Solicitor-General, retired from the Administration—the reasons of his resignation having been communicated in a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor. One of these was the appointment of Mr. Dickey, of Amherst, to the Legislative Council, and another the appointment of a delegation to England on railway business without the previous sanction of the Legislature. The Government replied to Mr. Wilkins' complaints and arguments; both communications were published. On Mr. Wilkins' resignation, Mr. W. A. Henry was appointed Solicitor-General.

In this year a general election took place, after which the party of which Mr. Young was the leader claimed a majority, and accordingly presented a memorial to the Governor, signed by that gentleman and twenty-eight other members elect of the House of Assembly, praying for an early meeting of the House. To that application the following reply was sent on the twenty-first of July to the memorialists by the Provincial Secretary—Dr. Tupper: "I have it in command from His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to inform you that your memorial, announcing to His Excellency your intention to oppose the present Government, and offering your views upon the proper time for assembling the Legislature, has received the careful consideration of His Excellency and the Executive Council; and I am further commanded to state that, while the Lieutenant-Governor will be at all times ready to give due weight to the sentiments of gentlemen holding the influential position of the memorialists, His Excellency cannot, he conceives, accept advice on the subject of the memorial from any other than his constitutional advisers, without disregarding the Royal instructions, infringing upon the system of responsible government established in this colony, and compromising the position of strict impartiality between political parties, which it is His Excellency's firm determination to preserve."

The Assembly met in January, 1860. Previous to the appointment of a Speaker, the Attorney General, Mr. Johnston, called attention to the alleged fact that there were certain persons present who were ineligible to sit or vote there—enumerating those whom he deemed disqualified. The Attorney General then proposed John C. Wade as Speaker, and the Hon. Wm. Young proposed Stewart Campbell when twenty-eight voted for Mr. Campbell, and twenty-five for Mr. Wade.

The Governor in his speech congratulated the House on new and valuable discoveries having been recently made in

the mineral resources of the Province, thereby stimulating Provincial enterprise, and attracting foreign capital; and also on the operations of the General Mining Association being extended under existing arrangements. He also alluded to his action in causing the formation of Volunteer companies in the Province—the Home Government having supplied Enfield rifles for the purpose of arming them.

The vote taken on the election of Speaker indicated that the opposition had a majority of two in the new House, but the Government contended that five or six of the members were disqualified from sitting there, as they held offices of emolument under the Government at the time of their election; and the Attorney General accordingly proposed a resolution to the effect that the charge of ineligibility should be investigated by the House, but the resolution was negatived by a majority of two.

The Executive Council in these circumstances deemed it their duty to advise the Lieutenant-Governor to dissolve the Assembly, when His Excellency requested them to submit their advice in writing, which was accordingly done. Shortly after the election the Council drew the attention of the Governor to the circumstance that a number of persons had been elected in violation of a law by which such persons were not eligible candidates for seats in the Assembly, inasmuch as holding offices of emolument, they had not tendered their resignation of them before the statutory period. On obtaining this information, the Governor requested the Attorney and Solicitor General to prepare in legal form a case, with their opinion as to the bearing of the law on its merits, which being done, His Excellency forwarded the documents to London in order to obtain the advice of the Law officers of the Crown on the subject. Referring to the deliverance of the Attorney and Solicitor General of England on the case submitted to them, the Council in their minute said:

"On the more essential points the English Law officers agreed in opinion with your Excellencies Attorney and Solicitor-General. In terms altogether unreserved and unequivocal they stated their concurrence with the opinion of your Law officers that many office keepers, health inspectors, coroners, surveyors of shipping, commissioners for taking bail, &c, came under the operation of the act, and were ineligible to serve in Parliament, and that although there were no means to prevent them taking their seats and voting, till removed by the House, yet were they to be maintained in their seats by the votes of a majority created by their combination with a party in the House, a wrong would be committed which would deprive the acts of the Assembly of the consideration to which otherwise they would be entitled, and which would render it necessary for the Crown to put an end to the existence of the House." The Government contended that the emergency supposed had arrived, and that immediate dissolution was necessary. They selected the cases of Lewis A. W. McLelan, and A. McNutt Cochran, submitted evidence shewing that they were paid officials of Government and therefore ineligible to sit in the Assembly as representatives. "Men," said the Government, "known to be ineligible, because shown to be ineligible by certain and unanswerable evidence, by their own votes created a majority which has attempted to change the Government. There must be a time and mode by which such men shall be removed from a position they occupy only in violation of law, otherwise the Constitution must be absurdly deficient in the maintenance of the institutions of the country,—but reason, justice and the exigencies of public business forbid that in the meanwhile they should exercise functions which it is known now as well as it can be known hereafter they do not possess—if by such exercise rights should be violated, the public business obstructed, and great mischief entailed."

The Governor, in a memorandum for the Executive Council, said that he had carefully considered their minute, and that if he considered that the duty devolved upon him of determining the elegibility or ineligibility of members returned to sit in the Assembly, the arguments advanced would be unanswerable, and he should feel bound—having ascertained that the disqualifications alleged were clearly proved—to exercise the Royal prerogative, and appeal to the country, before regarding a vote which was passed by members not qualified to sit in the Assembly. Such, however, was not the case. Parliament had always asserted its

exclusive right to judge of the eligibility of its members, and except in cases where the law had affixed penalties to be reserved in a Court of Justice for sitting and voting contrary to its provisions, this power had been always most jealously maintained, and such was the practice which had been uniformly followed in the colony. Did he permit himself to decide whether these members were eligible or not, he should feel that he was usurping a power which did not belong to him.

In a minute of Council of the twenty-eighth of July, certain members elect of the House of Assembly were alleged "to labor under personal disqualification to be elected, and that they could not take the qualification oath without perjury, or vote without a bold and open defiance of law." It was this, with other statements, which induced the Governor to request the opinion of his law advisers, in order to ascertain whether it was his duty to consider the evidence on which the opinion of his Council was based, and to be guided independently of the opinion of the Assembly in his future action, according to the impression made by that evidence, and thus exercise, if necessary, the Royal prerogative delegated to him by dissolving the Assembly. That the members to whom the Council objected, and respecting whose election they had expressed so strong an opinion, were entitled on being returned—as they were—by the Sheriff as duly elected to take their seats and vote, is most unequivocably stated by the British Attorney and Solicitor-General:—"We see nothing," they say, "to prevent a member from sitting and voting, although holding one of the offices in question, until he has been unseated by the Assembly;" but in the absence of any attempt on the part of the House to set the law as it stood at defiance, such as—in a case supposed—passing a resolution or an act, for giving the disqualified parties *ex post facto* eligibility, it

is clear that the opinion of the Crown lawyers was that the exercise of the prerogative would not be justifiable.

That the Government were right in the opinion expressed as to the disqualification of at least several of the persons objected to, is beyond dispute—the evidence adduced being such as could not by law or casuistry be set aside, but it was the exclusive province of the House of Assembly to try the case, or to decide summarily regarding it. That the evidence was so clear and palpable as to require no judicial inquiry, did not warrant a departure from legitimate forms of Parliamentary procedure, and as in the case of a deliberate murder, of which the judge appointed to try such cases was a spectator, he would not be justified in at once pronouncing sentence and ordering the criminal for execution without a legal trial, so in that under review, the Governor would be assuming functions which did not belong to him if, on satisfactory evidence of disqualification being produced, he proceeded on his own personal estimate of the circumstances to dissolve the Assembly. Some, at least, of the persons objected to, were returned in gross violation of a statute passed two years previously; but the constitutional antidote lay with the Assembly itself. It was extremely irritating to the Government to be unseated by a vote so obtained, but the unquestionable right of the disqualified members to sit for the time being in the Assembly, and vote in the transaction of its business, rendered a constitutional avoidance of the dilemma impossible. A perusal of the chapter in the second volume of Hatsell, in which precedents of disqualification on account of office are cited, as well as of the observations of Hatsell himself, will satisfy, we think, any unprejudiced reader, as it has satisfied us, that the English House of Commons has always claimed the right to decide as to the qualification of its members, independently of any extraneous advice. Nor will this impression be probably weakened, but on the contrary,

strengthened, by reading a series of elaborate letters written by "a constitutional lawyer" in the *Colonist*, whose object was to prove that Lord Mulgrave was wrong in the decision to which he had come. That the opposition availed themselves of the presence in the Assembly of disqualified members to obtain a vote of want of confidence, cannot be recorded to their credit. The occasion was one when party considerations should have been laid aside, and when the House was bound in vindication of its purity and dignity to have, by formal resolution, expelled Government officials who had been elected in direct violation of a statute, respecting whose import, as applied to some of the cases in point, there could not be in the mind of a sane man any doubt. We say by formal resolution, because it was quite competent to adopt that mode of expulsion. The terms of the law daringly violated were so explicit, and the violation of it so palpable, that formal procedure by petition and committee might have been with propriety dispensed with. This view was ably advocated by the Provincial Secretary, Dr. Tupper, and the constitutionality of such procedure was fairly adduced, among other reasons, from the answer to the following question embodied in the case already referred to as having been submitted for the opinion of Crown Council in England: "In the case of a person disqualified being returned by the Sheriff as having been elected by a majority of votes, ought in law his seat to be declared vacant merely, or is the person having at the election the next greater number of votes legally entitled to the seat?" Answer: "Considering this question by analogy to the proceedings of the British House of Commons, it would be for the House, *either on a report of a committee or otherwise*, to pronounce the election void, or declare the candidate next on the poll duly elected."

It may seem paradoxical to justify Parliamentary action, which would, by resolution, nullify certain elections, while

the refusal of the Lieutenant-Governor to dissolve the House is approved—to affirm that the reasons which were sufficiently cogent to sanction the expulsion of disqualified members were not equally strong as applying to the duty of ordering a dissolution; but the cases are not parallel. The Governor knew that the House of Assembly had the constitutional power to defend its own privileges, and maintain its own purity, and judiciously declined to use the Royal prerogative in a case where the remedy was already in the hands of the Assembly itself. He assumed that the House was the best judge and guardian of its own honor. If the House had, by a positive act or resolution, violated its constitution, then the prerogative could be used with propriety and effect, but in the absence of such positive violation the Governor wisely abstained from its exercise.

The advice tendered in good faith by the Government having been refused, their immediate resignation followed as a consequence. The new Government consisted of Wm. Young, President of the Council; Joseph Howe, Provincial Secretary; Adams G. Archibald, Attorney General; Jonathan McCully, Solicitor General; John H. Anderson, Receiver General; William Annand, Financial Secretary; Benjamin Weir and John Locke being also members of the Executive Council.

In the month of June, 1860, the Lieutenant-Governor was officially informed that the Prince of Wales proposed to land in Halifax on the thirtieth of July following. The intelligence having been published was hailed with demonstrations of the liveliest satisfaction by all classes, and preparations were made to accord to the eldest son of our beloved Queen and the heir apparent to the British throne a reception becoming his rank. A liberal sum had been placed at the disposal of the Governor by the Legislature to provide for the reception and entertainment of so august a visitor, and the inhabitants

of Halifax resolved that no private expense should be spared to make the reception successful.

His Royal Highness left England on the tenth of July, arriving at St. John's, Newfoundland, on the evening of the twenty-third, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The "Hero" and "Ariadne" bearing His Royal Highness and suite, left St. John's on the twenty-sixth, and proceeded to Sydney, which no intimation of the intention of the Prince to visit had reached—the ships anchoring near the mines at ten o'clock on the morning of the twenty-eighth. The news of the Prince's arrival spread rapidly, and the Volunteers, most of whom were colliers, and engaged at their occupation in the mines, mustered with such promptness and in such force as if an invasion of the island were threatened, under the command of their highly esteemed commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Brown, F.G.S., F.R.G.S. His Royal Highness inspected the volunteers, with whose soldier-like appearance he expressed himself highly satisfied, desiring the Lieutenant-Colonel, who with all the officers were introduced separately to the Prince, to express to the corps the pleasure he had derived from the inspection. From Halifax Mr. Brown received a letter written by command of the Prince by Major General Bruce, thanking him for his attention on the occasion of His Royal Highness' visit to Sydney, and sending for his acceptance an engraved portrait of the Prince.

True to the appointed time the ships were signalled in Halifax on Monday morning, the thirtieth of July. On entering the harbor the royal squadron was saluted by all the forts in succession, and by all the ships of war. At twelve o'clock His Royal Highness left the 'Hero,' and proceeded to land at the Dock Yard, where he was received by Rear Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, the Earl of Mulgrave, Major General Trollope, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, the members of the Executive Council, the members of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, the Mayor and Corporation of Halifax, and other dignitaries. The Sixty-second regiment formed the guard of honor. Then followed an address from the Mayor and members of the City Council, read by Mr. Sutherland, the Recorder. In replying to which the Prince said,—"In your noble harbor the navies of Britain can ride in safety, whilst you prosecute that commercial activity which, under their protection, would seem destined to make Halifax one of the most important cities of the Western world, and to raise her inhabitants to a high position of wealth and prosperity. That such may be the position reserved for it by Providence is my earnest hope." The Procession was then formed, consisting of the Fire Department and Engine Companies, and all the leading societies in the city—the streets being lined by the volunteers and the soldiers of the Garrison. The whole city and the inhabitants of the surrounding country

turned out to greet His Royal Highness, and during his progress to Government House he was received with a degree of enthusiasm that could not be surpassed. The most pleasing feature of the day's proceedings, and the one with which His Royal Highness was most delighted, was the scene presented in Barrington street, where on a raised platform were present four thousand neatly dressed children, fluttering with delight as the procession passed. When his Royal Highness appeared they rose simultaneously and sung an anthem. At its close three hearty cheers were given by the children, and myriads of little handkerchiefs fluttered in the air.

The citizens vied with each other in the elegance and splendor of the decoration of their houses—the general effect being admirable.

On Tuesday, a general review of the troops of the garrison and volunteers was held on the common. In the evening there was an illumination, and a ball took place in the Province Building, and was very largely attended. On Thursday, His Royal Highness left the city, being accompanied to Windsor by the Rifle Volunteers, the Mayor and a number of citizens. The arrangements were excellent, and the Prince expressed himself highly pleased with the truly royal reception with which he was greeted by the citizens of Halifax.*

* When travelling recently in the State of New York, we were sorry to observe that even amongst educated Americans there is prevalent a most unfavorable, and, as we believe, an utterly unfounded impression respecting the morals of the Prince of Wales. This has been produced by every breath of calumny, originating in the purient recesses of the Continent of Europe or the British Isles, being wafted across the Atlantic by newspaper correspondents whose function seems to be the collection of sensational intelligence to gratify a morbid propensity which ought to be repressed, but which is unfortunately stimulated and nourished by a species of fictitious literature, whose tendency is to weaken the intellect and corrupt the heart. Were the character of the Prince really such as that indicated, the fact would be well known in Britain, and no such tender sympathy for him would have moved the national heart as existed, and found unbounded expression when he was brought so near the gates of death that little hope of his recovery was entertained—a corresponding elevation of national feeling taking place when the crisis had passed. It would seem as if the Prince's illness were intended to purify the atmosphere of American public opinion in reference to His Royal Highness—whom God preserve.

We must now notice the death of a venerable judge and respected citizen, which occurred in this year. We refer to the decease of Sir Brenton Halliburton, Chief Justice of the Province, of whom a memoir was published by Messrs. James Bowes & Sons, in 1864, the author being the Rev. G. W. Hill, M.A.; an important contribution to the Provincial literature, written with equal ease and elegance by one who appreciated the sterling qualities of the departed, and who has produced a book full of interesting matter.

Sir Brenton Halliburton was the second son of the Honorable Dr. John Halliburton, who for many years was at the head of the Naval Medical Department in Halifax, and who was also a member of Council. The Dr. was a staunch loyalist, and resided in Rhode Island, then a British colony, when Brenton was born. At the time of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, in 1781, Brenton was about six years of age. Mr. Hill, his biographer, records that, coming out of school, he heard the people calling through the streets, "Good news!" "Glorious news!" Asking the cause of the cry, he was informed of the surrender of the Royalist troops, whereupon he raised the counter-cry, "Bad news, bad news!" An old Quaker, who lived opposite to Dr. Halliburton, and bitterly disliked him for his loyalty, hearing the boyish shouts, bustled out and enquired who cries "Bad news?" Seeing and hearing the little loyalist in the act, so exasperated were his feelings that he actually gave him in charge to some militia men who were passing at the time, and directed them to carry him to the jail. They obeyed orders and led off their dangerous prisoner in triumph. He was not, however, long detained within the walls. The jailor's wife happening to have been an old servant in his father's family, treated the little fellow to tea and cake and sent him home. After his father's removal to Halifax, he was sent to school in England, and returning to Halifax commenced the study of the law. When the Provincial regiments were raised during the French revolutionary war, Brenton joined the Nova Scotian Fencibles, from which, at the recommendation of the late Duke of Kent, he was transferred to the Seventh Royal Fusileers, then stationed in Halifax. He discharged his military duties with marked fidelity, but ultimately abandoned them and resumed the profession of the law.

In 1799, Mr. Halliburton married the eldest daughter of the Right Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis. Eight years thereafter he was appointed a judge in the Supreme Court, and in 1816 became a Councillor—the members of Council being twelve in number, and discharging both executive and legislative duties. In 1833, Mr. Halliburton was appointed Chief Justice of

the Province, and became an *ex officio* President of the Council, which position he held till the year 1838, when the executive was separated from the legislative, and the Chief Justice and judges ceased to be members of either.

Mr. Halliburton was a member of the Church of England, but was friendly to other Christian denominations. As a judge he discharged his functions with ability, and most conscientiously. In social life he was exemplary—full of quiet humour and anecdote. A little more than a year before his death, in answering an address of congratulation from the Bar on his elevation to a knighthood, he closed with the following touching words: "And now, gentlemen, accept of an old man's affectionate prayer for your welfare; may you at the close of life feel the great comfort of having made your peace with God through the merits of your Saviour. God bless you all." On the sixteenth of July, 1860, and in the eighty-fifth year of his age, "the old pilgrim,"—in the beautiful language of his biographer—"finished his course, and laid down his staff; the soldier had fought the fight and received the crown; the servant had done his work and laid down to rest."

If the patriotism and daring of the soldier who suffers or dies in his country's service, or the public spirit and beneficence of the eminent citizen who spends the energies of a protracted life in well-doing, inspire admiration and deserve a permanent record, what shall we say of the man who resolves to devote himself to missionary life; and after qualifying himself for the work by years of hard study, poring over his books, it may be, in some obscure attic, and faring anything but sumptuously every day, leaves his native land in order to consecrate his life to the most self-denying of services—sacrificing the society of relations, the pleasures of friendship, and the amenities of civilized life—truly offering himself a living sacrifice holy and acceptable to God, in order to christianize and civilize the heathen—boldly and bravely with the lamp of divine truth in his hand penetrating into the dark places of the earth which are full of the habitations of cruelty? The conquests of such a hero in the service of the Prince of Peace, girded with the sword of the spirit, his shield that of faith, and his helmet that of salvation, commands infinitely more admiration than those of the most

renowned champion that ever drew carnal weapon, or stood forth in full panoply to hear the plaudits and receive the homage of admiring thousands. These observations have been suggested by the intelligence which reached this country in the year 1862, that a missionary and his wife, sent forth by the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces, fell martyrs in the Island of Eromanga, on the twentieth of May of the previous year. Though the honor of giving birth to George Nicol Gordon belongs to Prince Edward Island, yet he labored in Nova Scotia so long, and was so well known there, that our friends in the Island will pardon us for thinking of him as at least *partly* belonging to the Peninsula.

He was born at Cascumpec, now called Alberton, on the twenty-first of April, 1822– being the fourth son, and the fifth child, in a family of nine. In the autumn of 1850, George came to Nova Scotia with the intention of attending the educational institution at Horton, but meeting with students of the Free Church College, in the city, he changed his mind and remained in Halifax. Not being qualified to enter as a regular student, he first attended the academy in connection with the College. He was an earnest student, and made rapid progress. In the year 1851 he attended the Theological Hall at West River, Pictou, and thence went to Halifax where he commenced his regular college studies. He had a small farm in Prince Edward Island, which he was compelled to sell in order to be able to prosecute his studies. Writing to his brother in December he said—"It is almost a sin for me to have property, and to be suffering from cold as I am doing this winter. From the first I did not like the idea of parting with my farm, but now I consider it my duty to make sacrifices for the sake of my education." "Though his early education was extremely limited" remarks his fellow student, the Revd. Robert Murray, "so diligently did he labor, and so great was his aptitude for learning, that in the space of five years he was not only a good English scholar, but had made very respectable progress in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and in every other department of a liberal education." All this was the more creditable as, on the testimony of the same gentleman, his attainments on entering the Free Church College were scarcely above the average of farmers or mechanics. It was doubtless his deficiency in this respect that caused his proposal to devote himself to the ministry to be at first received coldly by friends in whose judgment he had confided. In such circumstances nothing

but a firm resolution, based on a sense of duty and conscious power, could have prompted Mr. Gordon to persevere. His excellent biographer, from whom we derive our facts, records that one man had for two years worked secretly to accomplish his ruin, from which ordeal he emerged scatheless. Such villains, with their significant nods, shaking of heads, and shrugging of shoulders are not permitted to go beyond what God permits in their infamous procedure. Gordon's intimate friends knew the man, and interposed their shield for his protection from the shafts of malice, and the inuendoes of spurious virtue. In 1854 Mr. Gordon wrote to his brother. "I am now regularly through with my philosophical and theological courses. So you see what perseverance, with God's blessing, accomplishes. I could not have thought of such a thing five years ago. Then I suffered much, and endured many hardships, especially one winter in a cold room, and at times without anything to eat, still I got up the hill difficulty, for a kind hand was near to assist me."

In 1852, Mr. Gordon called on Mr. S. L. Shannon, the secretary of the Bible Society, to whom he was a stranger, but who through the rough exterior of the peasant discovered the elements of *a true man*—the somewhat rough and worn disciple—as he remarked—soon to ripen into the true christian gentleman. He was now engaged as a city missionary—work which he prosecuted with ardour and success. Having resolved to become a missionary to the heathen in the South Seas, he addressed a letter to the Revd. P. G. McGregor, offering himself for the office. He was duly accepted.

In 1853, Mr. Gordon, whose system had been predisposed to disease from hard study, and the tainted atmosphere which he breathed in his labors among the poor, was attacked with typhoid fever. He remained long in a critical condition, but had the good fortune to be attended by the Honorable Dr. Parker, under whose care he recovered. He was confined to his bed for seven weeks, expecting a formidable account for professional services, but upon application for the account, received it *receipted*. The medical faculty require to be well paid by those who can afford it, for as a body they devote more time, which is money, to charitable purposes than almost any other professional class.

Visiting London previous to his departure for the South Seas he was introduced to Miss Powell, his future wife—a woman of genuine piety and cultivated mind.

Mr. and Mrs. Gordon sailed in the "John Williams" in July, 1856. Their labors on Eromanga commenced on the seventh of June, 1857. Our limits will not permit an extended notice of the devoted energy and fidelity with which they discharged their duties as missionaries. We can only give the particulars of the closing scene. On the morning of the twelfth of May, 1861, Mr. Gordon and his wife worshipped together for the last time on

earth. Before the rising sun had attained an elevation to admit of out-door work, the missionary, with a little band of youthful disciples, leaving his lowly abode in the keeping of his devoted helpmate, descended the hill to resume his work at a winter residence further down the slope. At that house he was engaged till noon. The lads were at a distance gathering grass to cover the roof of the new dwelling. A band of savages, nine in all, with murderous intent drew nigh. They came from Bunkil, a place distant seven or eight miles. In a small thicket, situated between the abode on the hill, and the new one in course of erection, eight lay in ambush, while the ninth, Narubuleet, proceeded to the spot where the object of his deadly design was at work, and accosted him thus :—"I want some calico for myself and some men waiting at the Mission House." Taking up a piece of board the missionary wrote on it with a piece of charcoal, "Give these men a yard of cotton each," then handing it to Narubuleet said, "take this to Mrs. Gordon, and she will give you what you want." "Lova wishes to see you to get some medicine for a sick man, you had better come yourself," replied the savage. "See, I have not eaten yet, but never mind, I can do so as well at the house," said the unsuspecting missionary, pointing at the same time to a plate on which his wife had sent him some food.

Wrapping the plate in a handkerchief he started for the house, followed by the savage. The ambush reached, the savage plunged a tomahawk into his unsuspecting victim's spine, and he fell, uttering a loud cry. The others immediately rushed upon him and all was soon over.

The breeze speedily wafted his expiring cry, mingled with savage yells and fiendish shouts, to the ear of his wife. One victim secured, the assassins, save one, remained to hack the body. That one ran to the house to seek the other object on whom their vengeance must be wreaked. Alarmed by the noise, she hastened to an out-house, and standing there, listened with a fluttering heart. The murderer approaching with tomahawk concealed, she inquired : "Cuben, what is the matter? what is all that noise about?" "Nothing; it is only the boys playing," Cuben replies. "Where are the boys?" she asked, and in her agitation turned round to look, when the murderer seeing the opportunity, struck his tomahawk in her shoulder blade. She fell on a heap of grass, and one more blow nearly severed her head from the body.

The cause of the tragedy was attributed to a visitation of measles and dysentery which had ravaged the island, the introduction and fatal effects of which the natives attributed to the missionary.

Mysterious that this tragedy should be succeeded by an-

other, and that the victim should be a brother of the previous martyr. The Rev. James D. Gordon was born at Alberton—the same place, and we may suppose, in the same house as his brother. He studied under Professors Ross, McCulloch and Lyall at Truro. Under Doctors King and Smith and Professor McKnight he was pursuing his theological course, when he received intelligence of the murder of his brother and Mrs. Gordon. He hastened home to comfort his mother, but the painful news did not make him swerve from his determination to become a missionary. Having offered his services to the Board of the New Hebrides Mission, they were accepted, and he sailed in the *Dayspring*, with the Rev. Messrs. Morrison and McCullagh, in 1863. He chose, as the field of his labors, the island on which his brother perished. For eight years he was a faithful worker on the island, but in 1872, in visiting native parents who had just been bereaved of their children, they charged him with witchcraft, and tomahawked him on the spot—thus adding another martyr to those who had already perished. The mother of these honored men thus lived to receive the tidings of another son sacrificed at his post, and she has the deepest sympathy of all Christians to whom her double bereavement is known.

The first missionary who perished at Eromanga was John Williams, sent forth to the South Seas by the London Missionary Society in 1818. He returned to England on a visit in 1834, and in 1837 published his fascinating book, "A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Sea Islands," which commanded a sale of thirty-eight thousand copies in five years. Returning to the scene of his labors, he visited Eromanga in the year 1839. He landed on the island on the twentieth of November, when, in trying to conciliate the natives by offering them presents, he was clubbed to death. At the time he visited Britain the writer of these lines was a boy, and well does he remember the

portly form of John Williams as he preached a sermon in the town of Greenock, in which he gave an account of his proceedings in the South Seas. In appearance he would pass as a good representative of John Bull. In person he was remarkably stout, but had a fine countenance, which sparkled with kindness and intelligence, as, in the most simple style, he narrated the thrilling incidents in his eventful life.

In December, 1861, Prince Albert died of a fever, which was understood to have originated from having slept in a damp room when on a visit to the Prince of Wales at Cambridge. It was afterwards increased by attending a review of the Eton Volunteers. No one could have performed the duties of his high station more satisfactorily. Pure in life, highly intellectual and well informed, lofty in his aspirations, and ever active and energetic in his efforts to advance science, and stimulate the industrial energies of the country, he died universally regretted, and with a reputation unsullied. The Lieutenant-Governor having received official information of the death of the Prince, a "Gazette Extraordinary" was issued, in which the Civil Officers of the Government and Her Majesty's subjects in Nova Scotia were invited to put themselves in mourning, as a tribute of respect for His Royal Highness.

On the twelfth of January, 1861, a fire broke out in a store where the new Province Building now stands, and totally destroyed two blocks. The year 1857 was ushered in by a great conflagration, which swept away the business part of Hollis street, part of Granville street, and destroyed St. Matthew's Church; and on the ninth of September, 1859, the most destructive fire ever known in Halifax occurred in Granville street. Before it was extinguished over one million dollars worth of property was destroyed. Whilst these fires were regarded as serious calamities at the time

of their occurrence, yet they cleared sites for the handsome buildings which now grace the city, and also led to the re-organization of the Fire Brigade, which is now in point of efficiency and *esprit de corps* equal to any on the continent of America.

CHAPTER XIX.

International Exhibition of 1862—Contributions from Nova Scotia—Excellence of the fruit—Formation of the Fruit Growers' Association—Death of Hugh W. Blackadder—General election of 1863—Defeat of the Government—The new administration—The opening of the Legislature—Debate on Dr. Tupper's Education Bill—Remarks on the educational question—Death of Dr. A. Gesner—Appointment of Hon. J. W. Johnston to the office of Judge in Equity—Re-construction of the Government.

THE Imperial Commissioners of the International Exhibition held in London in 1862, having sent, in March, 1861, to the Colonial Governments an invitation to have their respective Provinces represented, it was resolved by the Government of Nova Scotia to respond to the invitation, and with that view they constituted a Board of Commissioners, consisting of gentlemen acquainted with the resources of the Province, of which the Provincial Secretary was chairman; Mr. A. Mackinlay, vice-chairman, and Mr. R. G. Haliburton, secretary. Public meetings in connection with the movement were held in the Province, and committees were appointed on minerals, manufactures, natural history, agriculture and fish, of which Andrew Mackinlay, James Thompson, J. Matthew Jones, Dr. Forrester and Benjamin Weir were respectively chairmen. The Secretary, Mr. Haliburton, and Dr. Howe, the Professor of Chemistry at King's College, visited many of the towns of the Province, holding meetings, and showing the importance of every section of the Province contributing to make the coming exhibition creditable to its resources and industry. The valuable services of Dr. Honeyman were secured for the geological and mineral department.

The Committees worked with vigor and determination, and with remarkable success, considering the short period allowed for the prosecution of

their labors. The coal fields were represented by seven large specimens from the different localities, the most remarkable being from the Albion mines, Pictou, the vein from which the specimen exhibited was taken being one of the largest in the world, its vertical section being from thirty-three to thirty-six feet. There were also splendid samples of coal from the Sidney mines, the Lingan mines, Glace Bay, and the Fraser mine, with some oil coal from the Frazer mine and from Patrick's mine. The iron made from the ores obtained from the Acadian Iron Works was illustrated by four specimens of pig iron, also by bars of iron. The *Times'* correspondent having attacked the Provincial Commissioners for the specimens of iron ore exhibited, which were in reality only second, if not equal in quality to the best Swedish brands, Dr. Honeyman and Mr. A. M. Uniacke sent replies which were not, however, inserted. The *Times* was doubtless ashamed of the blunder, and not disposed to damage its reputation for scientific accuracy by a withering exposure of the ignorance of its correspondent. That a medal was not awarded for the Acadian iron was solely attributable to the circumstance that one or two of the directors of the Acadian Charcoal Iron Company were appointed as jurors on iron, consequently the productions of the Company were ineligible for competition.

The representation of the Geology and Mineralogy of the Province was declared, by the *London Review*, to be more exhaustive than that of Canada, while that of the latter was more exhaustive than that of Great Britain. The representation of minerals, collected and arranged by Professor Howe, was approved by two juries—the Educational Jury, and the Jury of Glass, Mining, and Metallurgy, while the valuable geological collection of Dr. Honeyman, illustrated by a map, was highly appreciated by the scientific world.

The fish of the Province were represented by specimens preserved by J. M. Jones, by means of alconol, in clear glass jars—which mode of preservation was found to be effective, the specimens excited admiration, and continued, according to the interesting report of Dr. Honeyman, as fresh during the Exhibition as when they were prepared.

A case of birds, sent by Mr. Downs, formed an attractive object in the Exhibition; great skill being manifested, not only in the perfect preservation of the plumage of the birds, but in their peculiarly natural attitude, a characteristic of the art in which Mr. Downs excels.

That Nova Scotia commanded a high position at the Exhibition is indicated by the fact that she was awarded either medals or honorable mention in fourteen classes or sections, being only surpassed in this respect by Victoria and New South Wales—a most wonderful result considering the very limited extent of the Province as compared with the great majority of

the other competing colonies, and proving that Nova Scotia stands unsurpassed in the variety and extent of its resources by any other country of equal extent in the world.

Specimens of fruit had been sent from Nova Scotia to the International Exhibition, but as it had to be preserved till May before being exhibited, considerable deterioration both in quality and color was the consequence; but the Royal Horticultural Society having arranged to hold a great international show of roots, fruits, and cereals in October, 1862, in London, it was resolved to make an appeal especially to the fruit growers of the Province to exhibit samples of their orchards, while at the same time the committee desired to forward other agricultural productions which might be thought worthy of exhibition. This appeal, made by circular, was responded to, and arrangements completed for the transmission of packages. The apples were arranged in flat trays with partitions, and packed in dry bran, which was found to answer admirably. "A difficulty arose," wrote Mr. Haliburton, the indefatigable secretary of the committee in his very interesting report, "in naming the different sorts of apples, three of them having been sent without any names attached, and appearing to be new varieties. Under these circumstances the committee took the liberty of giving them names, under the impression that they would never hear again of the specimens in question, for the utmost expected was that the collection as a whole might be approved of, as the product of a colony supposed, abroad, to be unsuited for the growth of fruit. Mr. D. Henry Starr suggested the name of the 'Chebucto Beauty'—for a very pretty apple of a clear, transparent white ground, marked with red. Another was designated the 'Nova Scotia Seedling,' since changed by the Royal Horticultural Society into the 'York and Lancaster'; and a third was designated 'the Morning Star.' It strangely enough happened that these three varieties attracted especial attention and admiration. Full descriptions have been published respecting them. The Royal Horticultural Society has given one of them the honor of a colored engraving in their proceedings for January; and the Secretary has intimated to the Committee that it is possible that the representation of a second may hereafter appear."

"Little expecting such a result," continues Mr. Haliburton, "the Committee in the great hurry of preparation, kept no memorandum of the contributors of these three varieties, nor any descriptions of them. Had they anticipated the result, they might have thought it advisable to have had photographs taken of them, though this was scarcely practicable from there being hardly time to have the articles packed in readiness for the steamer for England." We quote here, however, the very gratifying enco-

mium paid to the 'Chebucto Beauty' which coming from a paper edited by Dr. Lindley, one of the very highest authorities on horticulture, is an honor that will doubtless be productive of profit as well as pleasure to the fortunate person who contributed the apple in question—"beautiful, however, as these varieties undoubtedly must be admitted to be, that which seemed to possess the greatest interest in the eyes of visitors who inspected them, was a sort called 'Chebucto'—the Indian name for Halifax harbor—a round apple about the medium size, possessing a skin as white, and even more transparent than that of the Pomme de Neige of the French, charmingly flaked and mottled. Than this nothing in its way could possibly be handsomer. Associated with it was another carnation variety, of smaller size called the 'Nova Scotia Seedling'; but though more strikingly flaked than that just named, it is by no means so brilliant or attractive."

The show was about to close when the Nova Scotia contributions arrived. On being unpacked the committee of management were astonished, and prolonged the show for a few days, in order to give the public an opportunity of seeing specimens of fruit which surpassed in beauty, and possibly equalled in flavor, any exhibited at the Great International Fruit, Root, and Gourd Show. Thousands of persons in whose imaginations Nova Scotia was associated with bleak and barren coasts, almost perpetually shrouded in mist, and redolent of piscatory odours, were astonished to find evidence of its being a fine agricultural country, with a climate capable of producing fruit superior to any of which the most favored spots in the South of England could boast. "The Nova Scotia collection," said the *Times*, "is in itself worthy of a visit. It is small, but the beauty of the apples beats anything we have ever seen." "We smiled," said the Horticultural Society in their Report, "when we read in the Halifax *Morning Sun* the complacent announcement that the fruit which had been sent 'would rather astonish our English friends;' but our incredulity has been rebuked, and we acknowledge that we have seen nothing in the Exhibition that has astonished us more than the Nova Scotia fruit." The *Gardener's Chronicle* said: "Our readers and the visitors to the recent fruit shows of the Royal Horticultural Society cannot have forgotten the surpassing beauty and equal excellence of the apples contributed by the great colony of Nova Scotia. Certainly nothing like them had been previously seen at any public exhibition in this country."

The signal success of the Nova Scotian fruit exhibition in London, for which the Government had declined to grant any pecuniary aid in the absence of Legislative authority—a tenderness of governmental conscience which, con-

sidering that the sum required, and for which application had been made, was only three hundred and fifty dollars, is very rarely indicated when purposes of a less useful and patriotic nature are to be served—suggested the idea of a permanent Horticultural Association. A meeting was accordingly held in the Masons' Hall, numerously attended by farmers and fruit growers residing in the counties of Halifax, Hants, Kings, and Annapolis, when R. G. Haliburton occupied the chair, D. Henry Starr, being Secretary, and resolutions with the view of forming such an association were moved and seconded by Richard Starr, Moses Shaw, Rev. John Storrs, and Dr. C. C. Hamilton. To the proceedings of the important association thus inaugurated, we owe the spirit of emulation that animates our fruit growers, and the magnificent display of fruit which is annually presented at their exhibitions. It is only due to R. G. Haliburton and David Henry Starr to record that to their united determination and energy in conjunction with the readily accorded aid of the fruit growers, the Province is mainly indebted for its celebrity as a fruit growing country, as well as the origin of the Fruit Growers Association. Nor can we forget to mention that to the late Hon. C. R. Prescott belongs the honor of having imported the fruit trees, the production of which attracts so much notice. It may gratify our Canadian readers to know that most of our trees have been acclimatized in Canada West, or the United States. Except the Ribston Pippin, no English apple imported direct, has succeeded. Our best table apple, the Gravenstein, was first brought from Canada West. Mr. Prescott imported grafts from Italy and France, and also some supplied by Mr Knight of the Royal Horticultural Society, but they had almost all failed or degenerated. The name of Prescott will descend to posterity with an odour sweet and perennial as that of the fruit he introduced, whilst scores whom the Almighty had blessed with the means of advancing the

interests of their country, but failed to do it, will be unhonored and forgotten.

In the year 1863 died Hugh W. Blackader, proprietor of the *Acadian Recorder*. He was born in January, 1808, being a grandson of one of the loyalists who left the United States at the time of the rebellion. He became a printer's boy at the age of twelve, in the office of John Munro, who at that time and for many years subsequently published the *Halifax Journal*. In the year 1837 Mr. Blackader became connected with John England in the conduct of the *Recorder*, which had been established as early as 1813 by Mr. Holland, and continued proprietor of that journal till his death.

Mr. Blackader was identified with the Reform movement inaugurated in Nova Scotia by Joseph Howe, and having been a fellow apprentice of that gentleman naturally followed his standard in the crusade for Responsible Government, devoting the columns of the *Recorder* to the dissemination of the views of the new party. The paper under his management was conducted with much ability, and numerous communications possessing high literary and argumentative powers appeared in its pages, while in point of typography and accurate reading it had few superiors in England. Although Mr. Blackader did not personally come to the front in the keen political contests of the day, he wielded great influence, being confidentially consulted by Mr. Howe and other prominent politicians about questions of importance as they arose. His extensive political knowledge and sound judgment carried great weight in the deliberations of the party with which he was identified. Mr. Blackader had a rich store of anecdotes connected with the stirring events of the period referred to. He died deeply regretted, after an honorable career as a public journalist, at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine years.

A general election took place in the year 1863, when the Government, of which Mr. Howe was the leader, was defeated at the polls. Their resignation was consequently tendered, and Mr. Johnston entrusted with the construction of a new administration—the Executive Council consisting of J. H. Johnston, Charles Tupper, W. A. Henry, James McNab, Isaac Le Vesconte, John McKinnon, Alexander McFarlane and S. L. Shannon. J. W. Johnston was Attorney General, Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary, W. A. Henry, Solicitor General, James McNab, Receiver-General, Isaac Le Vesconte, Financial Secretary, James McDonald being appointed Commissioner of Railways.

The new House met on the fourth of February, 1864, and was opened by Major General Doyle, who had been appointed Administrator of the Province in room of the Earl of Mulgrave who had retired. After the election of John C. Wade, as Speaker, His Excellency, in his opening speech, said that the importance of consolidating the influence and advancing the common progress of the three Maritime Provinces, whose interests were so closely identified, had for some time attracted a large share of public attention, and he proposed to submit a proposition in which the co-operation of the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island would be invited, with a view to the union of the three Provinces under one Government and Legislature. He also thought the time had arrived when increasing provision should be made, and improved legislation adopted for the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and the attention of both Houses would shortly be invited to a measure having that object in view.

The Education Bill was introduced by the Provincial Secretary on the fifteenth of February, in an able speech explaining its provisions. He stated—

That when on the opposition benches two years ago, he had called the attention of the House to the important facts disclosed by the census recently taken in reference to the educational condition of the country, pointing out that a large amount of ignorance existed, and stating that he considered the question of education of such importance and interest that it was the imperative duty of all parties to unite in effecting an improvement. The first thing proposed in the Bill which he now submitted was the establishment of a Council of Public Instruction. Difficulty was experienced in determining who should be the Council, but after anxious deliberation it was thought that the Executive Council, at all times responsible to the people, could perform the important functions of the position more efficiently than any other body that could be selected. It would be acknowledged that, in order to secure efficiency in the department of public instruction, the services of a qualified superintendent, who should discharge the important duties of examining and reporting on the educational state of every locality in the Province, were indispensible. It was, therefore, proposed to appoint such an officer, under whose direction there would be a

staff of paid inspectors, whose duty would consist in periodically inspecting all the schools within their respective districts. It was also proposed to appoint a Board, with the view of surveying and arranging all the school districts, adapting the subdivision of them to the present condition of the country. Examiners were also to be provided for each district, one of whom should be the Inspector—their duty being to ascertain the qualifications of applicants for license to teach. By this means it was hoped the status of the teachers would be materially raised. It was also intended that one of the Trustees, who should be charged with the special business of management, should receive, as remuneration for his services, a moderate commission on the money collected.

The Bill also provided greater facilities for the carrying out of the principle of assessment, and a premium of twenty-five per cent. was to be offered to every school founded on the assessment principle and declared free. In order to meet the necessities of the poorer districts, the Bill provided that one-fifth of the entire amount placed at the disposal of each Board of Commissioners, should be set apart for the purpose of supporting schools in the sparsely settled districts, in addition to the amount to which they were entitled under the law. It was proposed to classify the teachers, according to their proficiency, and to pay them without reference to the wealth and population of the district in which they might be located.

Such is an epitome of the explanation made by the Honorable Dr. Tupper, in introducing this important measure, which was received with considerable favor by the opposition. Mr. A. G. Archibald, seconded by Mr. H. Blanchard and others, contended, however, that the Executive Council ought not to be constituted the Council of Public Instruction. "Hitherto" said Mr. Archibald "it had been the aim of all parties to keep the subject free from political influence, but he would ask what surer mode could be adopted to accomplish that which they had long striven to avoid than to make the Executive Government a Council of Public Instruction? If they turned to the Canadian system or any other, they could not find a single instance of similar power being granted to the Executive as that contained in the first clause of the bill. Surely in the Province nine men could be found of sufficient intelligence, education and standing to form a Board of Education without having to draw upon the Executive for

material. The same objection applied to the County Inspectors. There would be twenty-three of these officers receiving a large sum of money, and all deriving their appointments directly from the Government. It would, therefore, be only natural to suppose that they would be more or less influenced by political feelings. In Canada these officers were appointed by municipal authorities, as was the case with the superintendent. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would accept these observations in the spirit in which they were offered, and would so amend the bill in Committee as to make it meet the approbation of all.

In the event of the members of the Council of Public Instruction being selected apart from the Executive Council various difficulties would be encountered. In the first place they would require to be paid, more particularly if a portion of them were under the necessity of coming from the country to attend to the onerous duties of their office. Again, if they belonged to the city, the counties would be up in arms against partiality in favor of Halifax. If the selection were made solely on the ground of competency, considerable difficulty would be experienced in finding men of *force* who had not identified themselves with one or other of the political parties. Perhaps no body of men more suitable for the position could be selected than the members of the Executive Council for the time being, as their responsibility to the people, whose eyes constantly upon them, guaranteed to some extent the conscientious discharge of their duty. It is true that the Government of the day may abuse its high and sacred educational functions by appointments made from political considerations, independently of competency, but there is a moral retribution attendant on such abuse of power, for when the incompetency of the officer becomes manifest, the Government suffers, its own character being, to a considerable extent, determined in public estimation by the character and ability of the officers it may appoint.

The inefficiency of the educational system that previously existed in the Province was proved by the census of 1861—the facts brought to light producing a profound impression on the thinking portion of the community. Of a population of three hundred thousand over the age of five years, there were eighty-one thousand who could not read, being more than one fourth of the entire population of the Province. Of eighty-three thousand children between the ages of five and fifteen there were thirty-six thousand who could not read. The number of children attending school in 1863 was only thirty-one thousand, so that there were in the Province in that year *fifty-two thousand* children growing up without any educational training whatever. The Dominion census was taken in April, 1871, and as we write, in 1873, only one volume of the five of which it is to consist has reached this Province, which prevents our instituting a comparison of the present educational condition of the country as compared with that of 1861. The value of such statistics depends to a large extent on the promptitude with which they are published.

The Educational Act of 1864 was, unquestionably, one of the most important measures, bearing on the moral and material interests of the Province, that was ever introduced. It struck at the very root of most of the evils which tend to depress the intellectual energies and moral status of the people. It introduced the genial light of knowledge into the dark recesses of ignorance, opened the minds of thousands of little ones—the fathers and mothers of coming generations—to a perception of the true and the beautiful, and placed Nova Scotia in the front rank of countries renowned for common school educational advantages. Strange that Britain should have remained so long in the rear. In Scotland, indeed, every parish has had for many generations its school, its educational endowment and its Presbyterial inspection, but in England, as well as Ireland, not

even the embryo of a system worthy of the name of national education existed, before Joseph Lancaster began his labors in London, in 1808. It was not, indeed, till 1833 that the British Government deigned to consider the subject at all, when the Privy Council began to make small grants in aid of school buildings. In 1839, a Committe of Council on Education was formed, and a system of Governmental inspection of schools, receiving assistance, was instituted. Since that period a growing public opinion has compelled action on the part of the Government, and Britain will soon, it is to be hoped, come up to Nova Scotia in common school educational advantages!

In Prussia, the educational force of the country is as completely and rigidly centralized in the Government as electricity in a telegraphic battery. Hence the Prussian system of education, though extended in its ramifications to every section of the country, has become a mechanical element in the hands of the Government. In Holland and in France the systems are more under local management, while in the United States the question of education is never mooted in the General Congress, being left entirely to the several States. Though our system is not by any means brought to perfection, yet even the Great Fatherland might take a lesson from unpretending and modest Acadia in the business of common school instruction.

In recently visiting some of the public works of the city we have met with a considerable number of fine young men who were unable to read in consequence of the absence of schools in the localities in which they were brought up in their boyhood. The remedy for this evil is the formation of evening classes, where apprentices and others may receive instruction in the elementary branches of education. It is to be hoped that steps will be speedily taken to establish these classes in various sections of the city of Halifax, as well as in the more populous country towns in the Province.

In the year 1864, Abraham Gesner, M.D., well known in the British North American Provinces, and the neighbouring Republic for his scientific attainments, died in Halifax.

Dr. Gesner was the son of Colonel Gesner, a native of Rockland County, N. Y., and was born towards the close of the last century in Cornwallis. At the close of the American war, Dr. Gesner's father, who had been an enthusiastic Loyalist, and who had lost all his property in consequence of his attachment to the British throne, had settled with a twin brother in Nova Scotia. In early life young Gesner visited South America and the West Indies, and was twice shipwrecked in making voyages to parts of the world where he could gratify his propensity for natural history, and increase his general store of useful knowledge. He afterwards went to Britain, and studied medicine under Sir Astley Cooper and the celebrated Abernethy. In 1835 he was employed in a Geological survey of the Province of New Brunswick, which was discontinued in 1842 somewhat abruptly, in consequence of disputes between the Executive Government and the Legislature. He had collected a museum of natural history which is now the property of the St. John's Mechanics' Institute. The Doctor accompanied Sir Charles Lyell on his geological tour through Nova Scotia. He will continue to be celebrated as the first discoverer of Kerosene oil and the modes of extracting oils from coal and other bituminous substances. He established in New York two extensive manufactories of oil, and was the instrument of promoting traffic in that article in many parts of the world. The Doctor's brain was ever active, and his pen constantly employed in giving the world the benefit of its product. His scientific works are clear and solid, and many of them highly appreciated by men competent to form a correct opinion as to their character. Gesner, though he had not the advantages of early scholastic training, yet by application he conquered the difficulties incident to the deficiency, and attained to honor, usefulness and eminence.

A reconstruction of the Government became necessary on account of the appointment of the Honorable Mr. Johnston to the office of Equity Judge, and Judge in the Supreme Court. The Honorable W. A. Black, who had occupied a seat in the Legislative Council for eighteen years, and who, on account of advancing years and failing health, was unable to attend regularly, offered to resign his seat, with the request that it might be offered to J. W. Ritchie. The Honorable W. A. Henry, the oldest member of the House

and who had held prominent offices under different Administrations, succeeded Mr. Johnston in the post of Attorney General. Mr. Ritchie was appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council, and also a seat in the Executive Council with the Solicitor-Generalship. The elevation to the Bench of Mr. Johnston was regarded with general satisfaction. He had faithfully and uninterruptedly represented the county of Annapolis for twenty years, and though a staunch and uncompromising party politician, never transgressed the rules of honorable political warfare.

CHAPTER XX.

Arrival of Governor MacDonnell—Dr. Tupper's resolutions respecting the union of the Maritime Provinces—Previous history of Confederation—Proposed conference at Charlottetown, P. E. I.—Political parties in Canada—Arrival of delegates from Canada at Charlottetown—Proposed union of the British North American Provinces—Banquet to the delegates at Halifax—Convention at Quebec—Adoption of John A. Macdonald's resolutions—Public meeting in Halifax respecting the Quebec scheme—Colonial Secretary's despatch to the Governor-General relating to the constitution of the Legislative Council—The Canadian Legislature address Her Majesty in favor of union—Opposition to the measure in New Brunswick—Change of policy in New Brunswick—Debate on Dr. Tupper's resolutions advocating union of the British Provinces in North America—The conference of delegates at London—The amended resolutions.

Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell having been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, arrived in Halifax, in June, 1864, and assumed the government of the Province.

Dr. Tupper introduced a resolution in the Assembly, bearing on the union of the Maritime Provinces; but before giving any details as to the action of the Legislature on the subject during the session of 1864, it is necessary that a brief statement of the previous history of Confederation should be given.

It is, perhaps, impossible to determine the exact period when the subject of a union of the Provinces of British North America was first publicly mooted. As we have already incidentally stated, Francis Nicolson, who was ap-

pointed Governor of New England, in 1688, was an advocate for the confederation of the British North American Provinces for purposes of defence. Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec, in 1814 addressed a letter to the Duke of Kent, in which he proposed a Federal Union of British North America. The subject, however, did not become a public question until the publication of Lord Durham's Report, which was submitted to the House of Commons in 1839. When he arrived in Canada he was in favor of a Federal Union—that is, a union in which the separate Legislature of each Province would be preserved in the form in which it then existed, and retain all its attributes of internal legislation, in contradistinction to a legislative union, which would imply a complete incorporation of the Provinces included in it under one Legislature, exercising universal and sole legislative authority over all of them, in exactly the same manner as the British Parliament legislates for the whole of the British Isles. Lord Durham based his advocacy of a legislative union, which, after due deliberation, he preferred on the following considerations: that it would enable the Provinces to co-operate for all common purposes; that it would tend to form a great and powerful people, possessing the means of securing good and responsible government for themselves, and which, under the protection of the British Empire, might in some measure counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American Continent. He did not anticipate that a Colonial Legislature thus strong and self-governing would desire to abandon the connection with Great Britain. On the contrary, he believed that the practical relief from undue interference which would be the result of such a change, would strengthen the present bond of feeling and interest, and that the connection would only become more durable and advantageous, by having more of equality, of freedom, and of local independence. He also believed that the increased

power and weight that would be given to the Colonies, so far from endangering their connection with the Empire, would be the means of fostering such a national feeling as would effectually counterbalance whatever tendencies might exist towards separation. On the ground of the common foreign relations of the Provinces, as well as their existing internal relations, he advocated a legislative union.

The first federative union which took place on the Continent of America, was that which embraced Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, and was consummated in 1648, its object being protection from the encroachment of the French and Dutch, security against the savages, and the protection of religious liberty; its affairs being conducted by two Commissioners from each colony, irrespective of size or population.

Though the subject of a union of the American Provinces was discussed by the British American League, in Toronto, in 1849, yet the first legislative discussion on the subject took place in the Assembly of Nova Scotia in the year 1854, when Mr. Johnston moved that the union or confederation of the British provinces on just principles, while calculated to perpetuate their connection with the parent State, would promote their advancement and prosperity, increase their strength and influence, and elevate their position—that his Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor, by address, be respectfully requested to make known to the Queen, and to the Governments of the sister Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island his opinion, and the desire of the House to promote the object; and that his Excellency, by correspondence with the Imperial and Provincial Governments, and all other means in his power, be urged to facilitate the consideration of a measure, which, if matured on principles satisfactory to the several Provinces, and calculated to secure their harmony, and bring into action their consolidated strength, must result in benefits of

inestimable value. Mr. Johnston delivered a long and able speech on the subject. He said that the hindrance to a union which would probably be found the most difficult of removal would result from real or supposed differences of interest in relation to the regulation of commerce and tariff. But if arrangements of this nature necessary for the common good should oppose in some particulars the policy of a portion of the union, it might well be supposed that more than a compensation would be found in the advantage of a uniform system embracing all the colonies, and conferring on each the privilege and benefits of unfettered intercommunication, which at present was not, and could not easily be enjoyed.

Mr. Howe also spoke at great length on the subject of the resolution; advocating Colonial representation in the Imperial House of Commons in preference to any other remedy for existing evils.

In 1857 the Government of Nova Scotia charged two delegates, Mr. Johnston and Mr. A. G. Archibald, to confer with Mr. Labouchere, the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of union, when they were informed that the decision of the question must rest mainly with the colonies themselves immediately interested, the delegates being given at the same time to understand that, in the event of harmonious action, no obstacle to the consummation of a union would be thrown in the way by the Imperial Government.

In 1858 Mr. Galt became a member of the Canadian Administration, and urged that the question should be taken up in earnest. It was consequently intimated in the speech which closed the Session, that during the recess the Home Government would be formally approached on the subject. Messrs. Cartier, Galt and Rose were accordingly deputed to confer with the Imperial Government, and requested authority for a meeting of delegates from each of the colonies to

deliberate upon the subject. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who was then Secretary, replied, that whilst the Government would be glad to authorize such a conference, it was necessary that a desire to that effect should be expressed by all the colonies interested to hold it.

Mr. P. S. Hamilton, subsequently Commissioner of Mines, had published two well written pamphlets on the union of the colonies, and also, in 1860, addressed a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on the same subject. Dr. Tupper also lectured on the topic to large audiences in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and towards the close of the Session of 1861 Mr. Howe, then leader of the Government, moved the following resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly—"The subject of a union of the North American Provinces, or of the Maritime Provinces, having been from time to time discussed in all the colonies; and while many advantages may be secured by such a union either of all the Provinces or a portion of them, many and serious obstacles are presented, which can only be overcome by mutual consultation of the leading men of the colonies, and by free communication with the Imperial Government, it is therefore resolved that His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor be respectfully requested to put himself in communication with the Colonial Secretary, and the Governor General, and the Lieutenant Governors of the North American Colonies, in order to ascertain the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and the opinions of the other colonies, with a view to the enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests, and upon which the public mind of all the colonies ought to be at rest." In transmitting this resolution to the Colonial Office Lord Mulgrave remarked, that as an abstract question the union of the North American Provinces had long received the support of many persons of weight and ability, but as far as he was aware, no practical mode of carrying out the proposed union had ever been

proposed. The question had assumed various shapes and proportions, some advocating a Federal union of the whole of British North America; some a Legislative union of the Lower Provinces. With all this diversity of opinion as to the character which the union should assume, the feeling in favor of a union of some sort was decidedly on the increase in the Province. Under these circumstances his Government was of opinion that a meeting of the leading men of the different Provinces should take place, in the hope that, after full deliberation and discussion, some practical scheme might be devised to which public attention might be directed in the future consideration of the subject.

In reply to the despatch in which these sentiments were expressed, the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, said that no one could be insensible to the importance of the two measures alluded to, and he was far from considering that they did not form a very proper subject for calm deliberation. They were, however, of a nature that rendered it necessary, if either was proposed for adoption, they should emanate, in the first instance, from the Provinces, and should be concurred in by all of them which it would affect. He could see no objection to any consultation on the subject amongst the leading members of the Governments concerned; but whatever the results of such consultation might be, the most satisfactory mode of testing the opinion of the people of British North America, would probably be by means of resolution or address proposed in the Legislature of each Province by its own Government.

The sanction of the Imperial Government to a general conference of leading men connected with the Provinces having been thus obtained, Mr. Howe addressed a circular to the Provincial Secretaries of Canada, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, in August, 1862, in which, after explaining the action of the Government and Legislature of Nova Scotia with respect to the subject, he said he had been

charged to ascertain whether the respective Governments addressed were prepared to appoint delegates, who would meet in some central place about the middle of September. This circular led to no practical result; but in 1864 the Government of Nova Scotia again took action in the matter, and Dr. Tupper moved and carried in the Assembly, in that year a resolution—to which reference was made at the opening of this chapter—to the effect that an address should be presented to His Excellency the Administrator of the Government, requesting him to appoint delegates—not to exceed five—to confer with delegates who might be appointed by the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the purpose of considering the subject of the union of the three Provinces, under one Government and Legislature; such union to take effect when confirmed by the Legislative enactments of the various Provinces interested, and approved by Her Majesty the Queen. The motion was seconded by Mr. Adams G. Archibald.

The Provincial Secretary, Dr. Tupper, had recently visited Canada, and felt convinced that the rivalry and contention existing between the Anglo-Saxon and French races there, as well as the suspicion with which both regarded the Maritime Provinces, rendered union of all the Provinces, in the meantime, hopeless. While he held that the union of the Maritime Provinces and Canada under one Government would be desirable, if it were practicable, he believed that the difficulties at present in the way to union were beyond human agency to remove. He said, however, that circumstances—which seemed to loom in the distance—might at no remote period render a union not only practicable, but absolutely necessary.

Resolutions of similar import to those submitted to the Assembly of Nova Scotia, were submitted respectively to the Legislatures of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and adopted. Delegates were accordingly appointed

by each of the Provinces, and a Conference appointed to be held in Charlottetown, where the whole of the delegates met on the first of September.

In the meantime a change had taken place in the tactics of contending political parties in Canada. In the Parliamentary session of 1863, the two great parties in the Canadian Parliament were pretty equally balanced. In that year a dissolution of the House took place, and when the new House assembled in the following year, it was found that their relative strength had not undergone any material change; and the Government, finding it impossible to conduct the business of the country with any degree of efficiency, resigned; and in March, 1864, a new Administration under Sir E. P. Taché was formed. The new Government experienced the same difficulties in the conduct of business as their predecessors, and the leading men of both parties became convinced that a reconstruction was absolutely necessary to prevent a dead lock.

John A. MacDonald, George Brown, and other leaders of the two political sections met, and agreed on a basis of reconstruction, resolving, at the same time, with the concurrence of their respective supporters, to unite in securing, if possible, a confederation of all the British North American Provinces. The Lieutenant-Governors of the Maritime Provinces having received a despatch from the Governor-General asking whether the Conference at Charlottetown would be willing to receive a deputation from the Canadian Government, in order to give it an opportunity of expressing its sentiments regarding the proposed union, the respective Governments addressed agreed to the proposal. A deputation accordingly proceeded to Charlottetown, consisting of John A. MacDonald, George Brown, George E. Cartier, Alex. T. Galt, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Hector L. Langevin, Wm. McDougall, and Alexander Campbell. The Convention having heard by telegram of the departure of

the Canadian deputation, resolved to wait its arrival, and to hear its proposals before proceeding to the business for which they were to meet. The deputation arrived, and after having been introduced, Messrs. MacDonald, Brown, Galt and Cartier addressed the Convention at great length on the advantages that would, in their opinion, result from a more comprehensive union than that which the delegates of the Maritime Provinces were assembled to consider. Having heard the statements of the deputation, which had occupied the entire time of the Convention for two consecutive days, it was deemed expedient that the deliberations should be suspended, in order that a decision should be taken with respect to the more comprehensive union which had been proposed.

It was determined to meet again at Quebec, and with the view of giving effect to that resolution, the Governor General of Canada invited representatives from the Governments of the various Provinces, to meet there in October.

Before leaving Prince Edward Island the hospitalities of the Island were, under the direction of a committee composed of the members of the Executive Council, extended to the Convention and their friends—whose capacity for social enjoyment seemed in no degree diminished by the onerous responsibilities and cares of office.

The delegates left Charlottetown, in the month of September, in the Victoria, a steamship belonging to the Canadian Government, for Halifax, where they arrived on the following day, and where a sumptuous banquet was held, Dr. Tupper being Chairman, and W. A. Henry, Vice-Chairman. The banquet was attended by the Lieutenant Governor Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, Sir James Hope, Vice-Admiral, and a large number of leading citizens. The speech of the evening was one by George Brown, President of the Executive Council of Canada, in which the question of union was discussed with great clearness and force.

Leaving Halifax the morning after the banquet the delegates proceeded to Fredericton where an informal conference was held. The delegates were entertained in St John, at a dinner, given by the New Brunswick representatives, the Chair being occupied by Colonel John Hamilton Gray, the Vice-Chair by Charles Waters, Solicitor-General of the Province.

The Convention met at Quebec, on the tenth of October, 1864, in the Parliament House of old Canada. Sir Etienne P. Taché, Premier of Canada, was unanimously chosen President, and Major Hewitt Bernard, Private and Confidential Secretary.

After due consideration it was resolved that the proceedings should be conducted with closed doors. It was contended that if newspaper reporters were admitted, the same freedom as to expression of opinion could not be used, and that delegates whose sentiments might undergo a change in the course of debate might lay themselves open to the charge of inconsistency, if the views to which they, in the first instance, had given expression were published.

It was also resolved that votes should be taken by Provinces, and not by members.

On the second day, John A. MacDonald submitted a series of resolutions, which were adopted by the delegates of the various provinces.

It was resolved that the future prosperity of British North America would be best promoted by a Federal Union under the crown of Great Britain, provided such union could be effected on principles just to the several Provinces. In the federation of the British North American Provinces it was considered that a general Government, as well as local Government for each of the Provinces, were best adapted for securing successful legislation. It was proposed that the executive authority should be vested in the British Sovereign, and administered in conformity with the British constitution by the Sovereign personally, or by a representative duly authorized—the Sovereign, or the representative of the Sovereign being commander in chief of the land and naval militia forces—that there should

be a general legislature for the federated Provinces, composed of a Legislative Council and a House of Commons. The federated Provinces were to consist of five divisions—Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island—each division having an equal representation in the Legislative Council. Upper Canada was to be represented in the Legislative Council by twenty-four members, Lower Canada by twenty-four members, and the three Maritime Provinces by twenty-four members, of which Nova Scotia should have ten, New Brunswick ten, and Prince Edward Island four members—the colony of Newfoundland being entitled to enter the proposed union with a representation in the Legislative Council of four members.

The members of the Legislative Council were to hold office for life—the seat of any councillor failing to attend for two successive sessions of Parliament becoming vacant.

The basis of representation of the Provinces in the House of Commons was to rest on population, as determined by the official census every ten years—the number of members consisting at first of one hundred and sixty-four, distributed as follows: Upper Canada eighty-two, Lower Canada sixty-five, Nova Scotia nineteen, New Brunswick fifteen, Newfoundland eight, and Prince Edward Island five.

Such were some of the leading principles embodied in the resolutions submitted by John A. MacDonald, and adopted by the Convention.

The Convention closed its sittings at Quebec on the twenty-eighth of October, and during its stay in the city was treated with the utmost hospitality. Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto also subsequently extended to it their hospitalities.

On the return of the delegates to Halifax, a public meeting was called by the Mayor, in accordance with a requisition from a number of citizens, in order to give the delegates an opportunity of presenting an exposition of the proceedings of the Convention at Quebec, when Dr. Tupper, Jonathan McCuilly and A. G. Archibald made elaborate speeches, which were fully reported in the newspapers. A

large and influential meeting was also held in opposition to the scheme propounded at Quebec, at which the question was discussed with much ability by Wm. J. Stairs, Alfred G. Jones, William Annand, W. Miller, and P. Power. It is only fair to state that some of the financial arguments of these gentlemen were unanswerable, and led in no small degree to subsequent improvements in the scheme, effected through the more immediate instrumentality of Mr. Howe and Mr. McLelan.

The Governor-General, Lord Monck, lost no time in transmitting the resolutions adopted at Quebec to the Imperial Government, which were hailed with great satisfaction, both by the Government and Press of Great Britain. On the resolutions being considered by the Government, Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, addressed a despatch on the third of December, 1864, to the Governor-General, in which he said that Her Majesty's Government had given to the resolutions of the Convention their most deliberate consideration. They had regarded them as a whole, and as having been designed by those who had framed them to establish as complete and perfect a union of the whole Provinces into one Government as the circumstances of the case, and a due consideration of existing interests would admit. They accepted them, therefore, as being, in the deliberate judgment of those best qualified to decide upon the subject, the best framework of a measure to be passed by the Imperial Parliament for attaining that most desirable result.

There were two points of importance which appeared to the Government to require revision. The first of these was the provision contained in the forty-fourth resolution; with respect to the exercise of the prerogative of pardon. It appeared to Her Majesty's Government that this duty belonged to the representative of the Sovereign, and could not, with propriety, be devolved upon the Lieutenant-Governors,

who would, under the present scheme, be appointed, not directly by the Crown, but by the central government of the United Provinces.

The second point which the British Government desired should be considered was the constitution of the Legislative Council. They appreciated the considerations which had influenced the conference in determining the mode in which that body should be composed. But it appeared to them to require further consideration whether, if the members were appointed for life, and their number were fixed, there would be any sufficient means of restoring harmony between the Legislative Council and the popular Assembly, if it ever should unfortunately happen that a decided difference of opinion should arise between them.

The contingency anticipated in the second objection was not provided for in the Union Act, as under a distinct provision Senators hold their places for life. It is well known that not a few of the past appointments made under successive Administrators were not grounded on the ability displayed in the consideration of public questions by the persons appointed, but on considerations alien to the effective discharge of duties which require rare ability in their fulfilment, so that no matter how incompetent, indolent or unprogressive a Senator may be, he continues in office for life, occupying, it may be, a place for which nature never intended him, and proving himself a legislative excresence without either ornament or use.

The Canadian Legislature met in February, 1865, when the report of the Convention was discussed in both branches of the Legislature, and a resolution submitted to them, respectively, to the effect that an address should be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she might be pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island

in one Government, with provisions based on the resolutions passed at Quebec. After a protracted discussion the resolution was passed by large majorities.

The scheme did not meet with the same degree of favor in New Brunswick, for an election having taken place before the question was discussed in the House, a large majority was returned opposed to confederation.

The opposition of the people of New Brunswick was regarded as a serious obstacle to the consummation of union, and the prominent promoters of it in Nova Scotia deemed it prudent, in consequence, to delay the legislative consideration of the question. But Dr. Tupper proposed in the Assembly in 1865, a resolution to the effect that under existing circumstances an immediate union of the British American Colonies having become impracticable, and a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces being desirable, whether the larger union was accomplished or not, that negotiations for the union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island should be renewed, in accordance with the resolution passed at the last session of the Legislature. The report of his speech on the occasion occupied nine closely printed newspaper columns. A long discussion ensued in which the leading opposition speakers were Mr. Annand, Mr. Miller and Mr. McLelan—the latter gentleman entering minutely into the financial aspect of the question. The resolution was adopted with a slight modification, without any division.

The Government of New Brunswick, which had been formed for the purpose of opposing confederation, having, by one of those wonderful processes of political alchemy, of which the modern history of these Provinces presents not a few remarkable instances, become warm advocates of union committed themselves to the policy of union in the speech with which the Legislature was opened in the year 1866, and the Legislative Council of the Province passing a

resolution approving of confederation—the Government of Nova Scotia at once appreciated the importance of the crisis as tending to the consummation of their views, and accordingly, Dr. Tupper, the leader of the Government, on the tenth of April, moved in the Assembly, the following resolution: Whereas, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a confederation of the British North American Provinces should take place—resolved therefore, that His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be authorized to appoint delegates to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of union which will effectually ensure just provision for the rights and interests of this Province, and of the Provinces co-operating, to have an equal voice in such delegation—Upper and Lower Canada being for this purpose viewed as separate Provinces.

This resolution, if adopted, would commit the House to immediate action for the consummation of confederation. The importance of the crisis was duly estimated by the members of the House, and the discussion which ensued was long and animated.

On the third of April Mr. Miller, the member for Richmond, who had previously been one of the most resolute opponents of the Quebec scheme of union, on rising to ask the Government the question if it would be willing to meet the friends of union, who could not concur in the Quebec scheme, on common ground, where all favorable to union could unite, intimated that he would be satisfied with the arbitrament of the Imperial Government, properly advised by delegates from all the Provinces. This was the first break in the apparently compact phalanx by which confederation in the form presented was resisted. The young member for Richmond wielded considerable influence in the House, and the Government were not slow to appreciate the present value of so important an accession. The Provincial Secretary immediately expressed the gratification with

which he had listened to the declaration of the member for Richmond; whilst Mr. Annand strongly condemned his conduct, charging him before the House as "bartering and selling the rights and liberties of the people."

After a week's discussion the resolution proposed by the Provincial Secretary was carried on the eighteenth of April by thirty-one to nineteen votes—a similar one having been passed in the Legislative Council by thirty to five votes.

In order to prevent the consummation of the union to which the Legislature had become thus committed, Mr. Howe, Mr. Annand and Mr. Hugh McDonald were sent as delegates to London by the party opposed to the contemplated union, where Mr. Howe, in addition to his other labors for the accomplishment of their mission, wrote a pamphlet entitled "Confederation considered in relation to the interests of the Empire." The pamphlet was extensively circulated, and the sentiments which it embodied were regarded with considerable favor by a portion of the influential press of Britain. Dr. Tupper, who in conjunction with J. W. Ritchie, W. A. Henry, Jonathan McCully and A. G. Archibald, had also gone to London, lost no time in preparing a reply which, for the clearness and solidity of its matter, as well as for its unimpassioned tone, was admirably adapted for the minds to which it was specially addressed. Mr. Howe had the misfortune to be the advocate now of principles which were in diametrical opposition to his previously published opinions, and it is no exaggeration to say that the elaborate structure which he had now reared was coolly and systematically demolished from base to cupola by his opponent. The effect was what might have been anticipated—Mr. Howe was regarded as really a champion for union, and his pamphlet treated as having no moral weight.

To the pamphlet of Dr. Tupper Mr. Annand wrote a very able reply in the form of a letter to the Earl of Carnarvon.

His defence of Mr. Howe was as adroit and skilful as in the circumstances it could be, but Dr. Tupper had so effectively used the *argumentum ad hominem* in dealing with Mr. Howe, that no defence could repair the temporary damage done to the reputation for political consistency of the anti-confederate champion. But if Mr. Annand failed in successfully defending his friend, he presented an array of facts and arguments in supporting the right of the people to be consulted at the polls before the Provincial constitution could be changed, which were difficult, if not impossible, satisfactorily to answer.

On the one hand it was contended that almost all the leading politicians of the Province had at one time or another expressed themselves favorable to a union of the Provinces, that Parliament was omnipotent, and that the union between England and Scotland, and Great Britain and Ireland having been consummated by Parliament without an appeal to the people, there could be no well grounded objection to the union of the British American Provinces being effected in the same way. On the other hand it was urged by Mr. Annand "that while nobody denied the power of the Imperial Parliament to sweep away the Constitution of a Colony, should the preservation of the national life or the great interests of the Empire demand the sacrifice, yet in such a case, flagrant abuse, corruption or insubordination must be shown; or the existence of a high State necessity, in presence of which all ordinary safeguards of existing institutions should give way!" He contended that no such abuse or state necessity existed to warrant what he termed "an act of confiscation and coercion of the most arbitrary kind," and he did not certainly exaggerate the intensity of popular feeling at the time against the proposed union when he expressed to Lord Carnarvon his conviction that in the election to take place in May next not three counties out of

the eighteen of which the Province consisted would return members favorable to confederation.

Delegates from the Government of New Brunswick had joined those from Nova Scotia in Halifax, and accompanied them to London in July. It was understood that the Canadian delegates would follow by a steamer leaving Quebec in the same month, but Lord Monck had intimated by telegraph that a change of Government in England would render it necessary to hear from England before their departure. In the meantime a Fenian irruption was threatened, and the delegates were consequently detained till November, when they joined their co-delegates, and a conference of the three Provinces was organised on the fourth of December at the Westminster Palace Hotel—the Hon. John A. Macdonald being President. The conference continued its sittings till the twenty-fourth, when amended resolutions, but substantially the same as those agreed to at Quebec, were adopted, and sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In the amended resolutions an increased subsidy of eighty thousand, seventy thousand, sixty thousand, and fifty thousand dollars was made respectively to Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in addition to the eighty cents per head; and the capitation subsidy of eighty cents was extended in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick till the population reached four hundred thousand. But the most important addition to the scheme was the guarantee by the Imperial Government of three million pounds sterling for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway.

A bill based on the resolutions was prepared, and submitted to the Imperial Parliament by Her Majesty's ministers, and was finally passed on the twenty-ninth of March, 1867, becoming on the first of July, 1867, the constitution of the Dominion of Canada.

CHAPTER XXI.

Sir Fenwick Williams appointed Lieutenant-Governor—Opening of the Legislature—Reply to the address of the Governor—Debate on Mr. Stewart Campbell's amendment—Prorogation of the House—Administration of the Government by H. Blanchard—Arrival of the s.s. *England* with cholera on board—Professional services of Drs. Slater, Gossip and Garvie—Death of Dr. Slater—Result of the election of 1867—The new Government—Meeting of the House—Mr. Wilkins moves for an address to the Queen, praying for a repeal of the union—The Anti-confederate delegation to London—Duke of Buckingham's despatch to Lord Monck, relative to repeal—John Bright's motion in the House of Commons—Protest of the delegates on leaving England—Mr. Howe accepts the situation—Death of Dr. Forrester—Visit of Prince Arthur to Halifax—Loss of the s.s. *City of Boston*—Death of the Hon. Joseph Howe—His early life—Appointment as Lieutenant-Governor—Character.

Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell having been appointed to the government of Hong Kong in 1865, left the Province in September of that year, and was succeeded by Sir Fenwick Williams, of Kars. In opening the Assembly in March, 1867, General Williams congratulated the House on the success which had attended the delegation sent under its authority to confer with Her Majesty's Government on the union of the colonies. The duty of moving a reply to the address was entrusted to Mr. J. Bourinot. The concluding clause of the address was to the following effect:

"We have learned with deep satisfaction that the efforts to effect a satisfactory union of the British North American colonies have been so successful, and entertain no doubt that the best interests of all these Provinces will be greatly enhanced, and that their connection with the Crown and the parent State will be permanently secured." To this clause Mr. Stewart Campbell, member for Guysboro', proposed the following amendment:—"We regret that we are unable to perceive any grounds on which to reci-

procate your Excellency's congratulation upon the assumed success of the delegation, commissioned by your Excellency under the resolution of this House, to confer with Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the union of the colonies. On behalf of the free people of Nova Scotia we would respectfully submit that in relation to that question the present is, in our opinion, a most important crisis in the history of the Province, and imperatively demands the exercise of the wisest discretion in the administration of its public affairs. Thus firmly impressed, we deem it our duty to convey to your Excellency our solemn protest against the action of the delegates referred to, and wish distinctly to claim and demand, on behalf of Nova Scotia, that no such measure as that proposed should have any operation in this Province until it has been deliberately reviewed by the Legislature, and sanctioned by the people at the polls."

Mr. Campbell said there were records of wrong, spoliation and injustice in comparatively modern times, but we must go very far back indeed to find an instance such as that which called for this amendment, finding its counterpart when Nero fiddled as Rome was burning! The delegation was commissioned, as he understood it, to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of union, but was it ever contemplated by the people or the House that the delegation was empowered to be parties to an Imperial Act of Parliament—an arbitrary act? He was convinced that no such idea had entered into the minds of gentlemen around these benches. Could they, the Parliament of Nova Scotia, entrusted with and empowered to decide on the weal or woe of their country, and charged with the protection of the interests of the people, part with a right so deeply affecting their welfare? No. He conceived that the delegation had exceeded its authority, and that the commission under which they probably acted was not authorised by the resolution under which they had been appointed. They had had delegates in connection with the same subject on a previous occasion, and the resolution under which they were appointed was similar in its terms to this, but was it supposed that the delegates sent to Charlottetown and Quebec were empowered to do anything but prepare a scheme to be submitted for the ratification of the House? Not by any means, and, therefore, when these gentlemen went across the water and became parties to an Imperial Act, when they were engaged in the lobby of the British Parliament promoting that Act, they exceeded the authority conferred upon them by the House and by their commission. In that view he thought the action of the delegation was such as the House and the people ought not to sustain. This was a matter which should have been brought back and submitted to the consideration of the Legislature. Under what circumstances had the proceedings transpired? It was well known that the people of the Province in every section petitioned by thousands

praying that the scheme should not be consummated till it had been submitted to them at the polls; but how had these petitions been treated? Had they heard that they had ever been read or even presented? Of the hundreds of members of which the House of Lords consisted not a round dozen could be found to witness the formal presentation of the bill. It was read by its title only, and the important details which it embodied never reached the ears or the hearts of the members comprising that branch of the Legislature. It passed the Lords with less formality than a bill imposing a dog tax would have done.

Mr. Killam seconded the amendment. It was well known that he made no pretensions to eloquence, but the views he entertained on this subject were the result of deep conviction. He might not be able to express his sentiments fluently, but he felt them very strongly. The honorable gentleman who preceded him had referred to the recent delegation and the manner in which the authority given by the House had been exceeded, but he hardly went deep enough into the question. The House must recollect that when the Provincial Secretary was pressing his resolution on the House last session, he referred to the transactions of previous years for the purpose of strengthening his argument. He stated that leaders of political parties in the Legislature had moved resolutions in favor of the scheme of union, but did he ever hear of a single resolution that had not coupled with it the condition that the question should be referred back to the Legislature, and by that means to the people? The honorable gentleman had tried to make the public men of England believe that the people of Nova Scotia were in favor of union. Her Majesty's ministers were under the delusion that the people of Nova Scotia were panting for confederation. It was not by any means difficult to understand the motives that had prompted the delegates to take the course they had. These politicians wished to put themselves out of the hands of the people to obtain place and power without the wishes of the people being at all consulted. The public men of New Brunswick dissolved the Legislature when they returned from Quebec, and the people returned a large majority opposed to union to Canada. Another election subsequently took place, and the people, for some reason or other, reversed the verdict they had previously given. So the people of New Brunswick had been appealed to twice on the question, whilst the people of Nova Scotia had not been consulted even once.

The course adopted by these gentlemen was, as far as he knew, unprecedented in the history of legislation. Even Napoleon had acted with less tyranny than they had done. He looked upon the Act of Parliament in question as utterly destroying the colonial system.

Dr. Tupper, in replying to the charge of pressing the question with indecent haste, said;—New Brunswick has been appealed to twice. Why is it

that the people of Nova Scotia have not been allowed to express their opinions once? At Quebec it was agreed that the scheme of union should be submitted to the several Parliaments. It was the last session of the Legislature of New Brunswick, and the Government found that they had not a majority to carry the measure. They appealed to the people, who decided against the Government, and, therefore, all action in relation to the measure in this House was prevented, for every man felt that, whatever were his opinions on this subject, no union was practicable unless New Brunswick came into it. Action was accordingly suspended in this Province until a change should take place in New Brunswick. Subsequently the people there, having had the question fully explained to them, reversed their former verdict, and gave a large majority of union votes. When it became obvious here that New Brunswick would concur, we submitted the question to this House. I ask the honorable mover of the resolution, as well as its seconder, if either of them will venture to say that the position of the Government in this Legislature is in the slightest degree analogous to that of the Government of New Brunswick. They were called upon to take action on the measure, and believed that, by an appeal to the country they would be sustained, and consequently they made that appeal. Subsequently it was found that the tide of public sentiment had turned—the explanations which were made on this question had shown the people that they had been egregiously deceived before, and accordingly, the moment they were allowed to speak again, they returned an overwhelming majority in favor of the great principle of union. The honorable member said the Government had pressed the matter here with indecent haste, Does he not know that this scheme of union was decided upon at Quebec in 1864—that it was the subject of agitation for nearly two years, down to 1866; but more than that, are not these same gentlemen who now charge indecent haste against us the men who, session after session, not only two years ago, but last winter as well, taunted the Government and myself with cowardice, with failing in what was our duty to the House and the country—for not having the manliness to come forward and submit this question to the members of the Legislature. But when we knew that the time had come when we could deal with this question, not as a hypothetical measure, but one on which the House could take action in consequence of the change of sentiment in New Brunswick in favor of union—when we found that the duty we owed to the House and country demanded that we should bring the question before the Legislature to be dealt with in the proper constitutional manner, what did these gentlemen say we did? When they saw that they had miscalculated the intelligence and patriotism of the House and the public sentiment of the country—that instead of having the overwhelming majority that they had deluded themselves into

believing they had, they were in an insignificant minority, then these gentlemen suddenly discovered that we were not open to the charge of cowardice and want of statesmanship, but that we were pressing the matter with indecent haste.

No man in the history of constitutional Legislation ever heard of so unstatesmanlike a course as a Government dissolving a Parliament in which they had a clear undoubted majority to carry a measure which they believed would promote the general prosperity of the country. I do not appeal only to gentlemen who are ready to support the Government on the question—nor to gentlemen in opposition who are ready to sacrifice the interests of party at the shrine of patriotism, but I ask the opponents of this measure not to give their votes in favor of such a resolution, when its advocates are obliged to confess that they have not in the whole range of constitutional Government a single precedent in favor of the cause they have chosen to pursue.

Mr. Annand said, that Dr. Tupper asked them to show a precedent for the course they urged .It was not for him to ask that of us, but we demand of him where in the history of the world any such attempt had been made to deprive a people of their Government and institutions against their will —without even the Parliament being allowed to review the measure. Such a policy may be tried with impunity in Nova Scotia with its three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, but could it be safely tried in Canada with two and a half millions? Could it be tried in England? Suppose any ministry in the mother country were to bring forward a measure for the annexation of the British Islands to Austria, or any other Kingdom, could it be done without a revolution? We are too weak to rebel if we had the disposition, but it is a fair principle that what could not be done constitutionally in England should not be done here. It is said that the resolution of 1861, introduced by Mr. Howe, committed the Government and every other member of the House to the support of union. That resolution merely declared that the subject of union had been frequently discussed, and that the time had come when it should be set at rest. That resolution speaks for itself. It bound no gentleman to support any form of union, or union at all—much less a scheme prepared three years afterwards at Quebec, containing provisions which no one could have dreamed of in 1861. That resolution led to a conference in 1862, at which were present delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the whole Executive Council of Canada. I was one of the delegates, and was present when the question of colonial union was discussed. And what was the decision? This House had asked that the question should be set at rest, and the answer they received was that it was premature even to discuss the question. The delegates considered it premature to consider the subject until the Inter-

colonial railway had been built, and free trade between the Provinces established. That then is the argument drawn from the resolution of 1861, which, it should be remembered, was not even debated in this House.

The Provincial Secretary spent nearly an hour in enlarging upon the rights and power of Parliament. No one disputed the power of Parliament. What we are discussing is not the power, but the sound and wise exercise of that power by a body elected for very different purposes—elected to carry on the business of the country under the existing constitution. While it might be right on the part of the Imperial Parliament to over-ride the constitution of a colony were a great State necessity to arise, we have no right under the limited powers we possess to transfer to a body of men assembled on the other side of the water our legislative functions. This fact must be borne in mind that this measure is not the result of the action of the Parliament of the country; the Quebec scheme and the bill before the Imperial Parliament have never been before us, and I deny the right of any body of delegates, however appointed, to make laws for us.

Mr. S. L. Shannon said the main point on which the amendment is being pressed is that an appeal should be made to the people. I need not trouble the House with many arguments upon the constitutional question, because it has been ably handled by gentlemen who preceded me, and because the member for East Halifax has to a great extent given up the point in admitting the precedents. Mr. Archibald showed that when the British Parliament found it necessary to change the arrangements connected with the succession to the Crown, and to bring in a new dynasty—when those noble men who guarded the rights of the country, and were determined to get rid of the Stuart family, had induced Parliament to adopt their views, there was not an appeal to the people, although the leading men in the movement knew that their action might be made a ground of impeachment. There was a union consummated in the history of England to which I might refer, although it is not exactly a precedent. I refer to the union of Scotland with England. It was hardly to be expected in that case that the lesser nation would have concurred. We all know the spirit of Scotchmen—how the ancestors of the men of our day had, with their backs to the unconquerable Highlands, and their faces to the foe, repelled the English invader on every occasion—and the same spirit led them to oppose the union with England. They feared, as our opponents profess to do, that the smaller state would be swamped by the greater—but what was the result? From that day Scotland went on in the path of improvement, and Scotchmen could take their place with Englishmen in any part of the world. One gentleman some time ago styled the Scotch a race of paupers; but if they were, they found their way down to rich England, and wherever there was an outlet for intellect or industry, Scotchmen were to be found avail-

ing themselves of the noble education which they had received, and of the opportunities of advancement which had appeared. From the date of the union, there has not been a ministry in England in which Scotland has been unrepresented. When the East Indies were opened to enterprize Scotchmen predominated there, and at the present day Scotland is one of the most prosperous parts of Great Britain. This is to some extent parallel with our case, excepting that we shall have far greater influence in the united Parliament, and a higher position in every respect; and I feel that the result will be, in our case, still more satisfactory. If we look on what an appeal to the people really is, we shall see that it is not in all cases satisfactory. There were two such appeals in New Brunswick, and the one neutralized the other. Who could tell which exhibited the real feeling of the people?

The debate was long and spirited, and on the question being put, there were for the amendment sixteen and against it thirty-two—the clause of the answer to the address objected to passing by the same vote.

The House was prorogued on the seventh of May, 1867, when, in closing the session, the Lieutenant-Governor said that he was highly gratified with the action of both branches of the Legislature on the question of union, and firmly believed that their adoption of the measure would not only greatly increase the general prosperity of British America, and elevate the Provinces in the scale of nations, but that the union was imperatively demanded in order to give security to this portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

In July, 1867, the Government of the Province was assumed by Hiram Blanchard, Attorney General; Philip Cartaret Hill, Provincial Secretary; James McNab, Treasurer; Charles Ailison, Commissioner of Mines and Public Works; John McKinnon and Samuel Creelman. The governmental business of the Province was efficiently discharged by these gentlemen till the result of the election was known.

In the month of April, 1866, the steamship *England*, belonging to the International Steamship Company's Line, arrived in Halifax with a great number of cholera cases

on board. She had sailed from Liverpool, England, for New York, on the 25th of March, having on her departure from Queenstown twelve hundred and two passengers, besides the crew. When four days out from England, a death occurred from a disease which was pronounced to be Asiatic Cholera. This was kept as quiet as possible, and occasioned but little alarm. Severe weather was experienced on the seventh day out, and the hatches remained battoned down for two nights, when another case of cholera occurred, which proved fatal in four hours. The disease now began to spread, and the crew as well as the passengers were affected.

When the ship arrived in Halifax harbour, one hundred and sixty cases were reported, and fifty-six deaths—thirty patients being under treatment, and fresh cases appearing. Dr. John H. Slayter, the health officer of the port, went on board on the tenth of April, and perceiving the desperate condition of the ship, volunteered to place himself in quarantine. A boat laden with dead bodies was afloat at the stern of the ship, for which graves were dug at Thrum Cap—the extreme southern point of McNab's Island.

On the evening of the tenth, Doctors Gossip and Garvie, who had previously volunteered their services should medical assistance be required, on being requested proceeded to the ship, accompanied by Dr. Garvie's brother—Frank Forbes Garvie, medical student—and joined Dr. Slayter on board the *England* at ten o'clock. On that day a few of the sick passengers had been removed to the *Pyramus*, receiving ship, which on application to the Admiral had been placed at the disposal of the Authorities, and was then at the quarantine ground. When the medical gentlemen met in consultation the circumstances were sufficiently appalling. Deaths were taking place hourly, and new cases appearing. Two doctors connected with the ship had done all in their power to alleviate suffering, and mitigate the disease,

which was of the most malignant type, and being exhausted with their labors were released by their brave professional brethren from the city. Steps were taken by the instructions of the Government to land many of the passengers on the island, and to separate those attacked from the rest. Nobly and courageously did Doctors Slayter, Gossip, Garvie and Frank Garvie devote themselves to the arduous duty they had undertaken. On the morning of the eleventh they conveyed the dead bodies to Thrum Cap, and interred them themselves, as no assistance could be obtained. Dr. Slayter in his report spoke in terms of admiration of the cheerfulness and courage with which two priests who were passengers attended to the dying and the bereaved—the Rev. Mr. McIsaac, of St. Mary's, being also conspicuous for his devotion to duty. The precautionary and remedial measures adopted were successful, and the disease began to abate both in virulence and the number of cases. Not one of the saloon passengers was attacked—striking evidence of the importance of thorough ventilation and cleanliness as protection against disease.

Dr. Slayter, who was ashore and had felt unwell, went off to the ship, and was there seized with unmistakable symptoms of cholera. He experienced much pain at first, never rallied, was perfectly sensible, but soon his speech became unintelligible, and he expired in the presence of Dr. Gossip, and one of the medical officers of the "England," on the morning of the seventeenth—a martyr to professional duty. Dr. Tupper, in proposing to the Legislature to vote five hundred pounds to the widow of Dr. Slayter, paid the deceased a well merited tribute of respect, in which the House as well as the country thoroughly sympathized. Dr. J. B. Garvie and his brother have since died, cut down before they had scarcely attained to the bloom of manhood, but their names will be long honorably remembered in con-

nection with professional services so chivalrously tendered, and so zealously performed.

The month of September, 1867, found the country in the bustle and fermentation of a general election. The scheme of union consummated without an appeal to the people, was extremely unpopular, and the leading politicians opposed to it, had, by holding meetings in every county, and through the newspapers, which advocated their views, made the current of opposition so strong that little doubt existed as to the general result of the election; but that the anti-confederates should carry, as they actually did—thirty-six of the thirty-eight seats in the Local House, and eighteen of the nineteen in the House of Commons was not expected by the advocates of union. Dr Tupper representing Cumberland county, was the only unionist returned to the House of Commons, and Mr. Blanchard, for Inverness, and Mr. Pineo, for Cumberland, the only ones returned to the Local Assembly.

On the result of the election becoming known, Mr. Blanchard, Mr. Hill and their colleagues in the administration tendered their resignations. when a new government was formed, which consisted of the following gentlemen: Wm. Annand, Provincial Treasurer, W. B. Vail, Provincial Secretary, M. I. Wilkins, Attorney General, Robt Robertson, Commissioner of Mines, J. C. Troop, R. A. McHeffy, E. P. Flynn, J. Ferguson, and James Cochrane.

On the thirteenth of January, 1868, the new House met. Mr. Marshall, the member for Guysboro, was appointed speaker.

On the fifth of February, Mr. M. I. Wilkins, Attorney General, moved a series of resolutions in the House, to the effect that the authority with which the Assembly had invested the delegates who assisted in procuring the Act for the union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Bruxswick did not warrant them in arranging a Federal union without including in such confederation the colonies of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island—that no fundamental change of the constitution of the Province could be con-

stitutionally effected otherwise than by a statute of the Legislature, sanctioned by the people—that no such statute of the Provincial Legislature, confirming or ratifying the British North America Act, having been passed, or the same authorized at the polls, the preamble reciting that the Province expressed a desire to be confederated with Canada and New Brunswick was untrue, and when the Queen and the Imperial Legislature were led to believe that the Province had expressed such a desire, a fraud and imposition were practised upon them—that the Executive Council and Legislature in defiance of petitions signed by many thousands of the electors of the Province persistently and perseveringly prevented an appeal to the people—that at the recent election the question of confederation exclusively occupied the attention of the people, who were then for the first time enabled to express their will as to a subject of the most vital importance to their happiness, and the result had proved that the Province did not desire to be annexed to Canada, and repudiated the enforced provisions of the North America Act—that widespread irritation and discontent were created, and that the people, fully conscious of their rights as British subjects, set an inestimable value on their free institutions, and would not willingly consent to the invasion of those rights, or to be subjected to the dominion of any other power than that of their lawful and beloved Queen —that an humble address be presented to the Queen embodying the substance of the foregoing resolutions, informing Her Majesty that her loyal people of Nova Scotia do not desire to be in any manner confederated with Canada, and praying Her Majesty to revoke her proclamation, and to cause the British North America Act to be repealed, as far as it regarded the Province of Nova Scotia.

The resolutions proposed by the Attorney General were seconded by Mr. Troop. The debate lasted for twelve days —if debate it can be called, where the speaking was almost all on one side. With the exception of a short speech by Mr. Peneo, in which he stated that whilst he deemed the late Government hasty in pressing the matter of Confederation without an appeal to the country, yet he considered it his duty to support the amendments of the member for Inverness, the whole burden of reply devolved on the latter gentleman,—a duty which he performed with ability and good temper. The resolutions were of course carried—Mr. Blanchard and Mr. Pineo dissenting.

An address to Her Majesty based on the resolutions pro-

posed by the Attorney General and adopted by the House was prepared and forwarded to Viscount Monck for transmission to the Queen; and the following gentlemen were appointed as delegates by the Executive Council to visit England in order to explain and support the representations against Confederation—Joseph Howe, Wm. Annand, Jared C. Troop, and W. H. Smith. Dr. Tupper proceeded to London in order to vindicate the previous proceedings of the House of Assembly in regard to Confederation, and if possible to frustrate the object of the deputation. That the deputation worked with unflagging zeal, and displayed both tact and ability in its efforts to accomplish its purpose, must be conceded, while it must be admitted that it encountered a clever diplomatist in Dr. Tupper.

On the fourth of June, 1868, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos addressed a despatch to Lord Monck, informing him that he had received the address of the House of Assembly to the Queen, praying that the Act of the Imperial Parliament affecting the union should be repealed so far as it concerned the Province of Nova Scotia, and that he had an interview with the delegates.

He said the address was laid before Her Majesty, and that the subject had engaged the earnest consideration of the Government. He remarked that the leading complaints appeared to be reduced to two—first that Confederation had been accomplished without properly consulting the Province, and secondly, that the results might be prejudicial to some of its special interests. With respect to the complaint that no appeal was made to the people, he observed that this had not been thought necessary in parallel cases—that there was none in uniting the two Canadas in 1839, although much difference of opinion existed, and in Upper Canada much close conflict in the debates—that an appeal to the country was proposed in the Assembly of Upper Canada at that time, and rejected by a large majority—that the same proposal was made in the late debate on Confederation in Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but in all of them was thrown out by a large majority.

Again it had been objected that the union was not made subject to legislative ratification by the several Legislatures. But no such course had

been followed in the numerous modifications of Colonial constitutions, and in the separations and unions of colonies, which had been effected by Imperial legislation. It did so happen, however, that after the present measure had been introduced into the Imperial Parliament, and its terms made public, it was cordially approved by both Houses of the Legislature, in their addresses to the Governor at the opening of the session in 1867; and the same took place in New Brunswick, when the session opened, after the Imperial measure had become law.

The Provincial Governments and Legislatures, in the present case, after the terms had been substantially settled, looked to the Imperial Parliament to accomplish their union. This had been done exactly in the manner requested. The neighboring Province of New Brunswick had entered into the union in reliance of having with it the sister Province of Nova Scotia; and vast obligations political and commercial had been already contracted on the faith of a measure so long discussed, and so solemnly adopted.

As to the points raised in the address relative to taxation, and the regulation of trade and the fisheries, the Imperial Government were confident it would be equally the wish of the Local Government and the Parliament of the Dominion to relax or modify any arrangements on these subjects, which might prejudice the peculiar interests of Nova Scotia, and the maritime portion of the Dominion.

He should do injustice to the character which Nova Scotia had always conspicuously borne of a faithful member of the general British community, if he did not add as a consideration sure to have weight, that the measure was believed by Her Majesty's Government to be not merely conducive to the strength and welfare of the Province, but also important to the interests of the whole Empire.

He had already said that any practical regard which might be due to the special position and interests of the Province would, Her Majesty's Government were confident, be cheerfully given by the Parliament of the Dominion, but after the foregoing explanations he trusted that the Assembly and people of Nova Scotia would not be surprised if the Queen's Government felt that they would not be warranted in advising the reversal of a great measure of State, attended by so many extensive consequences already in operation, and adopted with the previous sanction of every one of the Legislatures concerned, and with the subsequent approval of the Legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The Local Government, in a minute, which was forwarded through the Lieutenant-Governor to the Imperial Government, commented on the despatch of which we have given the substance. They wished it to be distinctly understood that all they asked for was the restoration of their constitutional rights. They had ever been faithful subjects of the British

Throne, and ardently desired to remain so, and would not attempt to withdraw their allegiance till they found that the Queen intended permanently to deprive them of her protection. .

The people of Nova Scotia had maintained friendly intercourse with the people of the United States of America, and their daily expanding commercial dealings with them made any interruption of peaceful relations improbable, if not impossible. They admired that great and intelligent nation, but their habits, their education and their feelings had always been favorable to monarchical, and adverse to democratic institutions. They were, therefore, in no manner desirous of changing their political constitution, and would not willingly allow themselves to be brought into subjection to Canada or any other country. They would have no confederation or union with any other colonies except on terms of the most exact equality, and there was no change in their political relations that they would not prefer to the detestable Confederation that had been attempted to be forced upon them.

They should proceed with the legislation and other business of the Province, protesting against the Confederation, boldly and distinctly asserting their full purpose and resolution to avail themselves of every opportunity of extricating themselves from the trammels of Canada; and if they failed, after exhausting all constitutional means at their command, they would leave their future destiny in the hands of Him who judges the people righteously, and governs the nations upon earth.

The case of Nova Scotia was brought under the notice of the House of Commons on the sixteenth of June, by John Bright, with his usual ability, when he moved for a commission to inquire into the causes of discontent in Nova Scotia. On a division there were eighty-seven for the motion, and one hundred and eighty-three against it.

The delegates, before leaving England, prepared an able protest, which was published. In alluding to the treatment which Nova Scotia had received from the House of Lords, they said:

"That at no time while the Confederation Bill was under discussion were there fifty Peers in their seats, and on the only occasion when an appearance of controversy was vainly attempted to be provoked by one or two noble Lords who kindly volunteered some sort of remonstrance, the numbers gradually thinned, till there were but ten members present when the bill finally passed. A good many historic delusions were dissipated on that

day. Franklin standing before the Privy Council, and enduring the sarcastic insults of Wedderburn, did not, it was fair to presume, retire more grieved and indignant than did the gentlemen who represented the people of Nova Scotia on that occasion. They did not, however, follow Franklin's example. They were reluctant to throw overboard the traditions of their fathers. The sentiment of loyalty, cherished from childhood, was not easily stifled. They returned to their homes and counselled peace and loyalty. This advice was taken. With the evidence of discontent which the elections had furnished, they returned to England to ask for the repeal of so much of the Imperial Statute as related to Nova Scotia. They obeyed their instructions, but yielded to the opinion of their friends, who thought that Parliament might fairly require, as a condition precedent to repeal, an independent investigation into the real state of the facts and of the feeling in the Provinces. The House of Commons had thought it proper to reject Mr. Bright's resolution. The people of Nova Scotia were hardly prepared to believe that the Imperial Government and Parliament would refuse redress for a great wrong, even though done inadvertently and with the best intentions. They certainly could not have imagined that in a case involving the honor of the Empire, the good name of Parliament and all the rights and revenues of an ancient and noble Province, they would be denied the most obvious form of independent investigation."

"The delegates could not leave England without expressing their obligations to the independent press of the three kingdoms for the generous manner in which its conductors had ventilated the question. Some of the gentlemen had mastered it completely, and had discussed it with great ability, and many others, regardless of party trammels and associations, had shewn a sturdy English love for fair play, which the people of Nova Scotia would never forget."

"But what of the future?" concluded the delegates. "The question is natural, but we have no answer to give. With the publication of this paper our responsibilities end. We have proposed our remedy—it has been rejected. His Grace the Colonial Secretary and Lord Monck have assumed the task of making things pleasant and harmonious. They will have time to try their experiments before the Legislature of Nova Scotia meets in August."

"In the interim, we presume, the future of our country will be anxiously considered by our people. May the Almighty God guide them! Having discharged our duty to the Empire, we go home to share the perils of our native land, in whose service we consider it an honor to labor, whose fortunes in this the darkest hour of her history, it would be cowardice to desert."

The delegates and Dr. Tupper returned in July, 1868, to Nova Scotia, having much sweet intercourse on board the steamer, sensibly striving to dispel the gloom of "the darkest hour" by having a rubber of whist together.

In August a Provincial Convention was held, at which the delegates reported their course of procedure in London in order to obtain a repeal of the Confederation Act, so far as Nova Scotia was concerned. Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George Cartier and the Honorable Peter Mitchell were present at one of the sittings of the Convention—having come to Halifax for the purpose of inquiring into the grievances of which Nova Scotia complained—but they stated to the Convention that they had no specific proposition in the meantime to submit.

Shortly after the return of the delegates from England it was rumored that Mr. Howe was prepared to give up further agitation for repeal, and actually to accept office in the Dominion Government. Mr. John Stiles, of Washington, addressed a letter to Mr. Howe on the twenty-second of September, 1868, respectfully inquiring if there was any truth in these rumors, to which Mr. Howe replied on the fifth of October, as follows: "In answer to your letter I may say that up to this hour I have accepted nothing and done nothing inconsistent with the general tenor of my life. I am dealing with the difficulties around me with a single eye to the good of my country; but let me add that treason and fillibustering expeditions, to tear the Province to pieces, are not included in my programme." In a letter addressed to the "Eastern Chronicle" on the twenty-fourth of October, Mr. Howe, in referring to the rumors as to his acceptance of the situation, said "when I returned from England twice defeated I would have been justified as Lee was in laying down my arms, and had I done so, and accepted the situation frankly, my honor would have been as untarnished as that of the unsuccessful soldier is at this day. I have not

laid down my arms nor accepted the situation, but I am still laboring in the interests of my country, and utterly regardless of my own, to make the best of a bad business, and to recover what I can out of the wreck that has been made of our Provincial organization." Mr. Howe was chairman of the Committee of the Convention which had passed a few weeks previously the following resolution, in which he concurred,—"that it is the opinion of this Convention it is necessary to use all further lawful and constitutional means to extricate the people of Nova Scotia from a Confederation that has been forced upon them without their consent, and against their will." He was thus committed to further efforts to secure repeal. It seems evident, however, that he had given up all hope shortly after his return from England of further agitation resulting in any practical benefit to the Province, for he had evidently set his mind on a compromise, by negotiating with the Dominion Government for more favorable pecuniary terms. This was being done without the knowledge or concurrence of the party of which, without exaggeration, he may be said to have been the head and leader. In his intercourse with the Dominion Government, he was joined by Mr. A. W. McLelan, the representative of Colchester county in the Dominion Parliament—one of the most determined opponents of Confederation. Their deliberations resulted in a preliminary arrangement by which the Dominion Government promised to propose to Parliament certain monetary concessions to Nova Scotia, which were subsequently secured by statute.

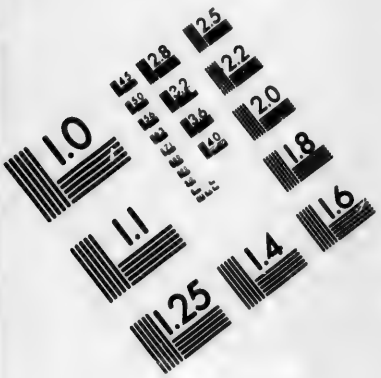
The entire record of Mr. Howe's life is opposed to the supposition that in this somewhat sudden and unexpected movement he was actuated by sordid motives. But in accepting office so speedily after his return from London, and severing the ties by which he was bound to his supporters, he cannot perhaps be said to have acted wisely, or with a due regard to his previously well earned reputation. When

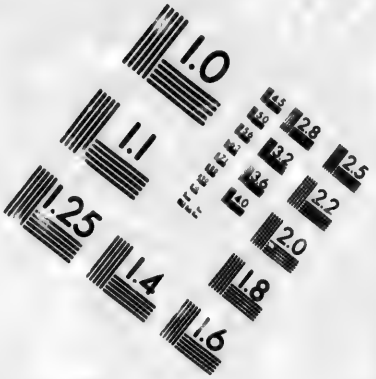
he had arrived at the conclusion that a repeal of the union was impossible, he should only have been true to his antecedents in boldly saying so in the Convention, and recommending the strong party, of which he was the leader, to join him in opening negotiations for better terms; and in the event of his not carrying his party with him, no charge of infidelity could have been brought, with any degree of plausibility, against him. But in assuming, with Mr. McLelan, functions which could only with propriety be delegated to them, and hastily accepting office at the hands of the very men who had brought about what the delegates termed "the darkest hour in their country's history," and some of whom were parties to the production of Mr. McLelan's "solemn hour," in which that gentlemen was apparently overpowered in the Assembly by his feelings, they not only transgressed the rules of ordinary courtesy, but laid their motives open to grave suspicion. Just as certainly as Mr. Howe broke loose from the restraints of party, did minor satellites follow in his course, and men, who by pen and speech deplored what they termed the ruin of their country, and went about among the people hysterically wringing their hands for their country's fate, and indulging in no very complimentary epithets towards the men who had brought about the catastrophe, were found snugly ensconsed in place, and complacently receiving, from the very hands of the alleged wreckers of the country's "noble constitution," the reward of their own sudden political transformation! It is surely neither cynical nor unreasonable not to give credit for patriotism where it is not deserved.

The *City of Paris* of the Inman line sailed from Queenstown, on the fifteenth of August, 1869, with His Royal Highness Prince Arthur on board, and was signalled off the harbour of Halifax, on Sunday morning, the twenty-second, having made the trip in six days and seventeen hours. His Royal Highness was received, on landing, by Sir John Young

the Governor-General, and Major-General Doyle. On Monday the whole city may be said to have turned out to do honor to the Prince. The route of the procession, which comprised the public societies of the city and the volunteer companies, was from the Dock yard to Government House. The Prince was enthusiastically cheered on his route. The school children assembled on the south side of the Grand Parade, singing with fine effect, God save the Queen. There was a concert in the Horticultural Gardens, under the auspices of the Early Closing Association, which was attended by nearly five thousand persons, and at which His Royal Highness was present, being greeted, as he stepped on the platform, by the singing of an authem, composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. John A. Bell. The Prince was also entertained at a ball tendered by the garrison, and at a successful picnic held on the classic ground of his grandfather's lodge, after which he proceeded to St. John, and subsequently to Quebec, having previously visited Prince Edward Island.

The year 1870 was marked by a calamity which will long remain memorable in the annals of the Province. We refer to the loss of the steamship *City of Boston*, of the Inman line. She was an iron screw steamer, built in 1865, by Tod and McGregor of Glasgow. She had seven water-tight compartments, with engines of three hundred and sixty nominal, but working up to seventeen hundred and seventy-two actual horse power. Her gross tonnage was two thousand, six hundred and thirteen, and she was ship-rigged. Like nearly all the trans-atlantic steamers, she carried upon her upper deck a house running the entire length of the ship, and finishing off at the ends in a round poop stem, and large top-gallant fore-castle. The house, which was seven feet high, and eighteen feet wide, contained the saloons, officer's rooms, fore-castle, &c. And upon the top of it was the hurricane or promenade deck. The vessel cost eighty-four thousand pounds, and was valued by her owners at sixty-five thousand pounds. Of this amount





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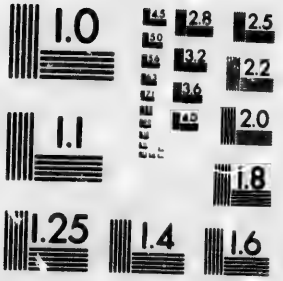

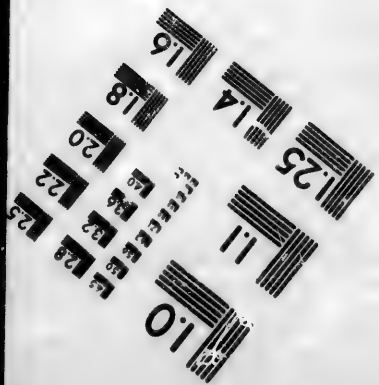

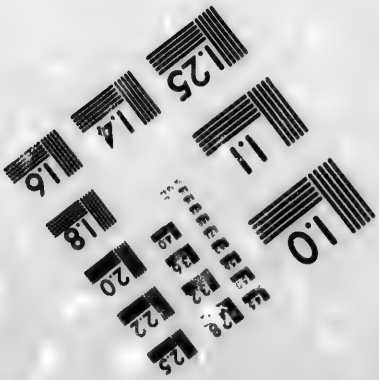

twenty thousand pounds only were insured. The policies on the vessel having run out about the time she reached Halifax, fresh policies were effected which commenced from the time of her departure, and the amount of insurance was then reduced by the company from thirty thousand to twenty thousand pounds.

The *City of Boston* left Liverpool on the outward voyage to Halifax, Boston and New-York, on the first of January, 1870. She carried a crew of eighty-six hands, all told, and was in charge of Captain Joseph J. Halcrow, who had been nine years a master in the company's service. On the outward passage the steamer lost one blade of her propeller two days before reaching Halifax. She proceeded with the remaining two blades. At New-York a spare propeller was fitted to the vessel, and she sailed from New York on the twenty-fifth of January. She had then on board a general cargo consisting of cotton, oil cake, flour, beef, bacon, lard, hops, tallow, wheat and copper ore, and weighing altogether eight hundred and ninety tons. She had also on board, for her own consumption, nine hundred and thirty seven tons of coal, and arrived in Halifax on the twenty-seventh of January. She there took on board the mails, and a quantity of cargo, consisting chiefly of the extra luggage of passengers, and packages shipped by the naval storekeeper, amounting to fifty-seven tons measurement, or about twenty tons weight.

The total cargo in the vessel when she left Halifax, which she did at noon on the twenty-eighth of January, amounted to about nine hundred and ten tons—the total weight that the ship had on board on leaving Halifax being, including machinery, cargo, and coal, two thousand and eighty-seven tons. The draft of water, on her arrival at Halifax, as reported in a letter to her owners from the Captain, was twenty-one feet seven inches forward, and twenty-one feet eight inches aft; so that after allowing one inch of depression for the Halifax cargo, the vessel was six inches higher out of the water when she left Halifax than when she sailed from New York.

The *City of Boston* was never heard of after leaving Halifax, but repeated reports of her arrival had reached the city, exciting expectations which unfortunately were not realized. On Wednesday, the sixteenth of March, Mr. McDonald, of the Telegraph office, received a telegram from New York intimating that a message had been received in the city to the effect that the steamer had arrived at Queenstown at one o'clock, A. M. As several unreliable telegrams had been previously sent, that gentleman decided not to make the report public until it was confirmed. About eleven o'clock, Mr. Thomas E. Kenny, whose brother was a passenger in the missing stea-

mer, received a telegraphic message from a friend in Manchester, congratulating him on the safe arrival of the vessel at Queenstown. This was confirmed by another telegram from Plaister Cove, C. B., to Mr. Patrick Power, M. P., whose son and partner were on the steamer. Sir Edward Kenny also received a telegram from Sir John Rose, London, announcing the arrival of the steamer. The news, respecting the truth of which there was now no doubt, created intense pleasurable excitement throughout the city, but was contradicted in course of the day, and again the city was shrouded in gloom, intensified by bitter disappointment. With the *City of Boston* were lost some of the best men in Halifax—some of them, young men of sterling character, ability and enterprise. The human freight of the steamer numbered altogether over two hundred souls. *

In bringing this sketch of the history of Nova Scotia to a close, we must refer to the death of one of her most distinguished sons, whose useful life is so incorporated with her history that a record of the transactions in which he was the most conspicuous agent, must ever constitute a permanent feature of the narrative. We refer to Joseph Howe, who died on the first of June, 1873, in Government House, which he occupied as the Lieutenant-Governor of his native Province. Mr. Howe was born in 1804, on the North West Arm, near Halifax. His father, Mr. John Howe, was held in high estimation, and was for many years King's Printer, and Postmaster-General of Nova Scotia. On two different occasions when difficulties arose between Great Britain and the United States, the elder Mr. Howe was sent thither by Government on confidential missions—a striking proof of confidence in his sagacity and judgment. He was a man of sterling integrity and sincere piety, and died in the year 1835, at the advanced age of eighty-three.

In boyhood, Joseph was put to the printing business. His first literary effusion was a poem on Melville Island, which stands at the head of the North West Arm, and where prisoners were confined during the last French and American wars.

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* For List of Halifax Passengers, see Appendix H.

As the production of a mere stripling, it attracted considerable attention. Young Howe continued to write verses, and practice prose compositions, his tastes being decidedly of a literary cast. When only twenty-three years of age, he purchased, in conjunction with Mr. James Spike, the "Weekly Chronicle," to whom he sold his share, towards the end of the year, and purchased the "Nova Scotian" from Mr. G. R. Young, a paper which had been established by that gentleman three years previously, and of which Mr. Howe now became sole proprietor and editor. We have gone over the file of the "Nova Scotian" from year to year, and have been amazed at the variety and amount of talent which its youthful editor had succeeded in enlisting in its columns. Public questions were discussed with amplitude, earnestness and vigor. The principal contributors to the paper evidently wrote as if their literary reputation depended upon their productions, which generally appeared in the form of letters. The columns of the "Acadian Recorder" were equally solid and attractive, whilst in typography the older files of these papers are not surpassed by those of any papers flourishing in more recent times.

The young editor was determined to succeed in his vocation, if constant devotion to duty could accomplish that desirable end. He reported with his own hand the proceedings of the Assembly and public meetings, with accuracy and fullness. The work was thoroughly done—public men having no reason to complain of the manner in which their speeches were reported, and when he undertook the work of condensation it was done with rare taste and judgment, the kernel of the speaker's observations being preserved, and presented in a readable and flowing form.

One noble characteristic in Mr. Howe as an editor was, that he never allowed his private feelings or political principles to interfere with the impartial discharge of his editorial duties. His paper was always open to fair discussion,

and communications were freely admitted, however much opposed to the political sentiments of which it was the advocate. He never condescended to make his paper the mere organ of a political faction. If anyone felt aggrieved by anything which he had published, the columns of his paper were always open for reply.

Editorial writing was not the description of literary work in which Mr. Howe most excelled. His articles were generally long and read pleasantly, but were perhaps somewhat rambling and deficient in condensation and epigrammatic point. After the perusal of them one had the feeling that the writer had a great deal more to say, which might have been said in the same space. An editorial ought to be a complete piece of composition so far as it goes. In this element Mr. Howe's productions were usually deficient.

But if Mr. Howe was deficient in editorial writing he excelled in the composition of despatches, and the framing of resolutions. He was master of a singularly pellucid and masculine style, and had the faculty of presenting his thoughts in so clear a light that there could be no difficulty in apprehending his meaning.

He had a fine imagination which was under thorough control. He was seldom grotesque in writing, or extravagant in description or illustration. His taste in composition was refined from his youth, which is accounted for by his reading and studying the best English authors.

Mr. Howe was an enemy to public abuses, which he attacked with a vigor and courage productive of the best results. He did not fear the face of man, and was never known to sacrifice the country's interests at the shrine of personal aggrandisement. We have already said that his opposition to Confederation for which he had been previously a strenuous advocate, and his treatment of the anti-Confederates were entirely out of harmony with his previous life, but his inconsistency in this respect cannot

materially diminish the respect in which he must ever be held by his country, which he served with disinterested zeal and devotion.

As a public man Mr. Howe was pure. Any thought of making his position conducive to the acquirement of wealth never entered his mind. With ample opportunities for accumulating property he never soiled his hands, and died a comparatively poor man. If any one wishes to ascertain the degree to which he was beloved by his countrymen, let him enter into conversation with country people, who were latterly politically opposed to him, and he will find, in combination with sadness, proofs of abiding veneration, and deep seated affection. The qualities which inspired such feelings must have been noble.

A few weeks before his death Mr. Howe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia—a position to which no other living man was equally entitled, and for which he possessed all the necessary qualifications in an eminent degree. But his health was shattered, and it appeared too evident to his friends that he could not long occupy the honorable post to which he had attained. Desirous of obtaining any reminiscences of his early political associates with which he might be disposed to furnish us, we called at Government House on the Monday previous to his death. He received us cordially—his emaciated appearance and blanched countenance plainly showed that the end was not far distant. He seemed delighted in recalling the scenes of former days in the House of Assembly. His eye was clear, and his intellect bright. On remarking that the reading of some of S. G. W. Archibald's speeches impressed us with the conviction that he was one of the ablest men the Province had produced. He said: "Yes, he was an able man—a man of commanding presence, and had a voice as clear as a bell." Of John Young, Agricola, he remarked that he was by no means ready in debate, but that after studying his subject

he spoke with great power. Finding that Mr. Howe was getting excited—for he rose from his seat, with his hand on his breast, and suffering from oppressive breathing, suddenly exclaimed, "these were the men!"—we at once retired, regretting that the state of his health did not permit the interview to be prolonged. Next Sunday Joseph Howe had gone to "the undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns."

CHAPTER XXII.

Province of Nova Scotia—Its position—Extent—General features—Soil—Climate—Prevalence of rain—Account of a visit to the fruit show at Somerset—Advantages of Nova Scotia for farming.

Nova Scotia consists of a Peninsula, and the Island of Cape Breton—the peninsular portion of it being about two hundred and fifty miles in length, and its extreme breadth being about one hundred miles. It is connected with the main land of the American Continent by an isthmus sixteen miles in width, Cape Breton being separate from Nova Scotia proper by the narrow Strait of Canso. The island is about one hundred miles in extreme length, and eighty in breadth. A considerable portion of the superficies of the Province is occupied by lakes of various sizes of which Lake Rosignole in Queen's county is said to be the largest. But a very small portion of the country is, strictly speaking, mountainous. Its surface is generally undulating, and its aspect pleasing. That portion of the Province which faces the Atlantic to the south is bold and rugged, with deep indenations, but relieved in summer by spots of fresh vendure, and the variegated colours of the distant forest, while the land that fronts the Bay of Fundy is of comparatively even surface, forming a striking contrast to the southern coast line of the Peninsula.

Few countries have been, in their general geological features, better described, the greater portion of the work having been done without any pecuniary remuneration whatever. In every house in the Province there ought to be a copy of Dr. Dawson's work which combines scientific accuracy and extensive original research with a pleasing narrative, encumbered with comparatively little technical phraseology. To the labors of Gesner reference has been already made. Honeyman, Brown, Hind and Howe have also contributed not a few valuable papers on the geology of the country.

Till a comparatively recent period the most erroneous notions were entertained in Europe as to the soil and climate of Nova Scotia. In an anonymous description of it, published in Edinburgh in 1787, the soil was represented to be so spongy as not to bear the foot of a man, unless congealed by frost. Whether the writer had landed at some boggy part of the coast, and drew a sweeping conclusion based on his limited experience as to the general character of the country, or trusted entirely to his fertile imagination in his description, it is impossible to determine. Even on the part of some Nova Scotians there is a tendency to speak of their country as not

adapted for farming operations, and to point to the west as the proper region for agricultural settlement. Hear one whose writings are distinguished by sobriety of statement, and whose opinion ought to carry weight. Dr. Dawson says: "it is scarcely fair to compare our country with those parts of America which present vast tracts of forest, and which are yearly receiving swarms of emigrants, who are cutting down the woods and exporting a great surplus of grain from the first fertility of the virgin soil. Such countries are now yielding large supplies of produce, but their fertility is being rapidly exhausted, and we have no evidence that when the land becomes cleared, and the influx of new population ceases they will be even as productive as the average districts of our Province. Nor is it safe to speak in general terms, either of praise or condemnation, of a country so various in the qualities of its soil as our province. We have some land as bad as any can be; we have in other districts soils not surpassed by any in the world. We have also extensive tracts of soil which require, in order to productiveness, a larger amount of skilful husbandry than they have yet received."

Scientific agriculture is carried to as great perfection in Scotland, as in any country in the world; yet the soil of Scotland, is not naturally more fertile than that of Nova Scotia, and there is a greater cultivable area here, in proportion to the extent of country; and Nova Scotia enjoys the additional advantage of a large tract of marine alluvial soil, produced by the tide wave that sweeps up the Bay of Fundy, and which continues to retain its fertility undiminished for generations.

Nor can Nova Scotia complain of its climate. It can be fairly placed in competition with that of Britain, even for agricultural purposes, and so far as personal comfort is concerned, that of Nova Scotia will be preferred by the majority of persons who have had experience of both climates. The mildness of the winter in Britain is considerably marred by remarkable humidity, which materially diminishes the number of days suitable for out door labor, whilst the advantages of early spring are counter-balanced by the rapidity of growth in Nova Scotia, and the splendour of the protracted autumn.

The large quantities of flour which are landed weekly at the wharves in Halifax, to be afterwards sent to all parts of the Province, shows the extent to which we are dependent for the staff of life on Canada and the United States. Whilst the greater rain fall in Nova Scotia, renders the successful culture of wheat more precarious than in many parts of the States and Ontario, yet a large proportion, at least, of the wheat which is required for the Province, might be grown on our own soil. In travelling through the country in autumn, when the golden colour of the grain fields renders them peculiarly conspicuous, one who has travelled in other

regions, is struck with the very limited extent to which cereals are cultivated in the Province, even in districts whose native fertility is equal to that of the richest soil of any other land.

Connected with the Dominion Department of Marine and Fisheries there is a Meteorological office, under the able management of Mr. Kingston, whose objects are the collection of meteorological statistics, and their arrangement in forms suitable for the discussion of various physical questions—the combination of the information collected from numerous places, in a series of years, and the deduction therefrom of the climatic character of each district and locality, and the laws of geographical distribution—and the prognostication of weather. The report of the superintendent presented in January last is equally interesting and valuable. We have referred to Ontario being better adapted for the culture of wheat on account of the comparative dryness of its climate. By reference to the table where the depth and number of days of rain—exclusive of snow—in the several Provinces, for each quarter and year from September, 1859, to August, 1872, are shown, it is found that the fall of rain in the summer quarter of 1872 in Ontario was 7.45 inches, in Quebec 10.92, New Brunswick 12.99, and Nova Scotia 12.26—the yearly rainfall from 1871-1872 being in Ontario, 18.34 inches, Quebec, 21.96, New Brunswick, 37.32 and Nova Scotia, 39.31. Thus we find that the quantity of rain which falls annually in Nova Scotia is more than double that which falls in Ontario. The number of days in the same year in which rain fell in the respective Provinces—Ontario 77.9 days, Quebec 79, New Brunswick 105, and Nova Scotia 118.1. But the superabundance of moisture in Nova Scotia might be to a great extent counteracted by a system of thorough drainage. If the climate is deficient as compared with some of the other Provinces for the growth of wheat it is most favorable for green crops, turnips, carrots, mangel-wurzel, wurzel, &c., which in Nova Scotia are cultivated to a very limited extent, though they are as valuable to the farmer as any other crops, and can be brought to as great perfection as in any of the sister Provinces.

We had intended to have attempted a description of each of the counties of which the Province consists, but the extent to which other subjects have been treated prevents the fulfilment of our purpose. But before dealing with more solid and statistical topics perhaps an account of a Journey taken from Halifax to one of the fruit shows of the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers Association held at Somerset, Kings County, might not be unacceptable as conveying the impressions produced by the scenery of a portion of the Province on a stranger. The narrative is presented without any attempt to make it suitable for the gravity of book composition.

Although we have seen more summers than it concerns the reader to

know, yet we are free to confess that we cannot regard the prospect of a pleasure trip without experiencing that degree of agreeable excitement uniformly characteristic of youth. On the preceding evening we scan the sky in all directions for the purpose of enabling us to determine with an infallibility equal to that of the celebrated Admiral Fitzroy, the kind of weather that is to prevail on the morrow. On consulting our note-book, we find that, however varied and conflicting the data resulting from our anxious and painstaking observations, only one conclusion has been hitherto arrived at—to wit, that the weather is certain to be of the most propitious character. If it be as Burns says in his address to that respectable and ubiquitous personage "The Deil,"—

> "A weary, windy, watery night,
> When stars look down with sklentin' light;"

we congratulate all around on the circumstance that the clerk of the weather—a mysterious personage, with whom it is the interest of people to be on as good terms as with "Auld Hornie" himself—has had the discretion to pour out his watery treasures at so fitting a time, generously reserving sunshine for our special use! If after a beautiful day it threatens rain, no portent proves sufficiently ominous to produce the conviction that to-morrow will not be fine—if the lightning gleams and the thunder roars, it will certainly be a cool bracing day to-morrow! We valliantly challenge the reader to cite one instance in which any weather prophet has predicted, where his own special comfort was concerned, any kind of weather than that which comes under the comprehensive description of "fine." Being rather of a philosophic turn of mind at the moment, we shall venture to attribute the universal tendency to which we have alluded to the eradicable principle of hope, a principle of which no man can thoroughly divest himself without the melancholy isssue—insanity.

Wednesday morning, the seventeenth of October, found us on our way to the railway. The morning was cloudy, threatening rain, which all travellers dread except in circumstances where long continued drought renders it particularly acceptable to the soil; but the weather, on the assumption of no change either in increased sunshine or gloom taking place, was, in the circumstances, quite up to our ideal. The passengers on leaving Halifax were to travel a district of country where the charms presented were to be reflected from hill, dale, wood and water. Hence the alternations of sunshine and cloud, incident to the existing state of the atmosphere, were particularly favorable to the production of at once a striking and pleasing effect. Except under the conditions indicated, we do not believe that natural scenery, in cases where extensive range of vision and sublimity of effect are obtained, can be viewed to advantage.

On arriving at the Richmond station the first thing that strikes one who has just come from the old country, but who has never seen an American Railway car, is its peculiar construction as compared with its British brother. In the latter the passengers face each other exactly as they do in an ordinary coach, each compartment being distinct and separate from the rest. The privacy thus secured is not unfrequently dearly paid for by murderous attacks being made on unoffending passengers. In point of comfort, and in other respects the American system of railway accommodation is decidedly superior to the British. In the train we have a goodly company; many of the passengers being, like ourselves, bound for the fruit show. We find ourselves in agreeable and intelligent society. On passing Bedford Basin the country presents a sterile appearance, the surface being generally uneven and rocky. A series of small lakes relieve the monotony of the scene, and in conjunction with the spruce, fir, and dwarf birch and maple that abound in the district, constitute not a few splendid pictures. At this season of the year the partially decayed foliage assumes all the hues of the rainbow, and in many cases the colours are so charmingly blended, as to present scenes inexpressibly beautiful. It is one of the characteristics of Nova Scotian scenery that wood grows everywhere on the very margin of the water; whether salt or fresh. As the morning is calm the trees are reflected vividly on the surface; the brilliant colours brought out by occasional gleams of clear sunshine, being toned in the reflection—the trembling undulations of the water, in which they delight to glass themselves, imparting a truly ethereal aspect to the pleasing scene. Although this part of the country bears no close resemblance to the Garden of Eden, we are reminded of that passage in Paradise Lost, where Eve for the first time beholds her own image in the water:—

"Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
Of waters issued from a cave, and spread
Into a liquid plain; then stood unmoved,
Pure as the expanse of heaven; I thither went
With inexperienced thought, and laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear
Smooth lake that to me seemed another sky!
As I bent down to look, just opposite
A shape within the watery gleam appeared
Bending to look on me. I started back,
It started back; but pleased I soon return'd,
Pleas'd it returned as soon with answering looks
Of sympathy and love."

Passing the limits of Halifax county in the direction of Windsor the

scene changes. Instead of the profusion of spruce, fir, and dwarf birch which prevails for twenty miles after leaving Halifax, a goodly quantity of hemlock, birch and maple clothes the country, and its aspect becomes in an agricultural point of view, greatly improved. Smiling fields and neat cottages enliven the scene, and the general appearance of the country presents evidence of comparatively ancient settlement. On our arrival at Windsor Station there is the usual bustle and activity. To secure our luggage and a comfortable seat on the coach are the main objects. The coachman is an important personage, whom the passengers consult with great deference as to the disposal of their persons and traps. In appearance and manner he is a portly representative of the "old Weller" school, save that his clearness of eye and freshness of complexion indicate that the race is improving. We are honored by a seat on Her Majesty's mail bag, containing lots of Halifax newspapers. Owing to the very combustible material of which some of the editorials consist we do not feel very comfortable. An editor who has been a fellow-passenger by train, and upon whom we look down as he stands at the hotel entrance, modifies our fears by assuring us that none of his literary torpedoes are below us. We are favored on the top with the company of a gentleman who consoles us as the coach starts, and we feel our seat insecure by saying that he once had a rapid descent without any serious consequences. On the present occasion he takes the precaution of providing himself with a stout umbrella, the bent handle of which he hooks to the top rail of the coach, and thus riding—as he expressed it—securely at anchor, we proceed on our paradoxical journey. The coach proprietors, sensible of the amount of brain that would be lost to the country should an accident occur, engaged the services of an eminent M.D., whose presence was all the more acceptable—our friend of the anchor sagely remarked—as it was expected a number of little mails would be delivered on the journey.

We have now crossed the Avon, and behold a portion of that process by which the fertile dyke lands are produced. The sea has for a season receded to a great distance, and has left in its rear a plain of many hundred acres in which the deposits necessary to constitute arable land are being gradually made. The tide, as if inspired with intelligence, collects mud mixed with very fine sand, and bearing the treasure in its bosom, carefully deposits it in thin layers on the surface of the flats, and having thus like a bee left its treasure returns to collect more material to add to the general stock. We have it on the eminent authority of Dr. Dawson that there are in Nova Scotia fifty thousand acres of dyked marsh, the value of which is estimated at twenty pounds per acre,* the undyked land, bare at low ebb tide,

* Dr. Dawson's statement as to the quantity of dyked marsh is evidently based on the census of 1851, when the quantity of land yielding crop was returned

being of immensely greater extent. It is highly creditable to the skill and enterprise of the French that they have succeeded in reclaiming by their ingenuity and labor such large tracts of country, and that at a period when scientific attainments in the accomplishment of such work was by no means common. For many years previous to the middle of last century they raised splendid crops of wheat as the reward of their industry, which they were able to export in considerable quantity to the Boston market. How much of that valuable cereal is growing in that fertile region now? If the French and the English who succeeded them have been able to reclaim, laboring under many disadvantages, so much valuable land, what would capital and scientific skill not effect in the same direction? The sea is performing its part of the work with gigantic power, and undeviating regularity, and would seem alike by the terrible roar or gentle ripple of its waves, to call upon man to reap the benefit of its beneficent industry. And here we cannot refrain from shedding a tear of sympathy for the unfortunate Acadians who, in the full enjoyment of the fruit of their industry, were compelled by the consequences of war to bid adieu to those fertile fields which it had been their delight to cultivate.

The scenery as we proceed to Wolfville is truly beautiful. On the right stretches the marsh land towards the Basin of Minas. On the flat hundreds of cattle are quietly browsing. In the distance rises Blomidon, forming with the mountain range of which it is the terminus, a dignified north eastern boundary to the prospect. The weather continues all that can be desired. We have those alternations of sunshine and cloud to which we have referred as forming that condition of the atmosphere most suitable for viewing such scenery. As we hurl along we pass small gullies and deep gorges, in which the variegated colors of the foliage seem to glow with peculiar intensity—the startling effect being produced by the contrast formed by certain spots of the forest gleaming in pure sunshine, whilst other spots immediately contiguous, are thrown in shade by a passing cloud. We had often heard glowing descriptions of the beauty of Nova Scotian forest

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under two heads, namely, dyked marsh, of which there was 40,012 acres, and other improved land 799,810 acres, making in all 839,822 acres. The returns of 1861 show four divisions—dyked marsh, salt marsh, cultivated intervale and cultivated upland. Of dyked marsh there were 35,487 acres. Mr. Fulton, the Secretary to the Board of Statistics, remarks that it would be a mistake to suppose there was less of this description of land in cultivation than formerly—the difference in the figures being accounted for from the fact that a large quantity of land returned in 1861 under the head of salt marsh, was in 1851 given as dyked marsh, there being in the returns of that year no distinctive head under which to place it. Of salt marsh the quantity returned in 1861, was 20,729 acres, making together with the dyked marsh a total of 56,216 acres, being an increase of 16,204 acres over the total amount of marsh given in 1851. The returns of the last census not having been published, we regret the absence of reliable data as to the present quantity as compared with the report of 1861.

scenery, but, without the slightest desire to exaggerate, we declare that the actual sight of it has exceeded, in its inexpressible charms, our most sanguine expectations. To a Scotchman the scene is perfectly unique and startling. The emotions produced are different from those generated by the contemplation of Highland scenery. In the latter case there are presented chains of majestic mountains, whose tops are frequently shrouded in gloom, and upon whose capacious proportions one cannot look without experiencing an intense sensation of the sublime—the scene being frequently enlivened by rushing torrents and foaming cataracts, while in the vale beneath streams meander amid verdant fields, tenanted by lowing cattle and bleeting sheep.

But we are now at Wolfville—a pleasant village, the houses having an air of peculiar comfort, and having gardens attached to them in which rosy-cheeked apples peep out from among the leaves, looking down on jolly cabbages and other vegetables. Here our friend the Doctor leaves us, being welcomed on his arrival by his venerable father—a fine specimen of the Nova Scotian old gentleman.* On narrowly scanning the Doctor's countenance we could find no traces of disappointment that he had no limbs to set, or human bellows to mend on the journey.

We must now pass on to Kentville—another pleasant village. The coachman here lands us safely. We must do him the credit to say that he handled the reins most skilfully, and that his pleasant civility contributed not a little to the pleasure of the journey. Dinner being ordered, we are invited by two gentlemen, fellow passengers, whose acquaintance we had the pleasure of making, to take a short ante-dinner stroll, which we did towards a bank, at the base of which a river flows. It is immediately behind the hotel. We were glad of the suggestion, as the prospect is as extensive as it is beautiful. The people of Kentville display good taste—and the same remark applies to Wolfville—in allowing the trees which embellish it to remain standing. In travelling through the eastern portion of the Province we were shocked at the spirit of Vandalism which had prompted some of the natives to clear the ground entirely in proximity to their dwellings of the noble trees which would have at once sheltered and adorned them. We may also remark that the churches in Kentville are quite in keeping with the quiet beauty of the place. There is nothing in architecture more despicable than the attempt to be grand on a small scale. We find in some parts of the Old Country, as well as here, churches whose designs seem to have been taken from lucifer match boxes, with heavy steeples, altogether disproportioned to the character and extent of the buildings, which seems to be quite in as good taste as if the head of a boy were adorned by a hat which would fit his grandfather.

(*) Mr. De Wolfe.

We imagine we hear the reader say—but what of the fruit show? Well, if he will exercise a little patience, we shall conduct him thither immediately. After dinner we drove to Somerset, about twelve miles north-east of Kentville. It was a clear moonlight night. The stars shone with great brilliancy, and the air was balmy for the season. Venus sparkled in the west with a concentration of ray which seemed as if she was resolved to give to a scene so congenial to her aspirations as the fruit show her special countenance. Old Sol, in going down robed in richly colored cloudlets, seemed to have given her a hint as to how she was to deck herself, for soon after he disappeared she became visible in her purest and most brilliant vestal garments. On looking at her we were reminded of the immortal lines of Burns—suggested by the very star upon which we were gazing—

"Thou lingering star of lessening ray
That lovest to greet the early morn, &c."

And as we saw orchards by moonlight the words of Romeo occurred,

"Lady, by yonder blessed moon I swear
That tips with silver all the fruit tree tops."

After breakfast next morning we took a stroll through Somerset. It is quite a modern place, but has indications of vitality that promise development in a few years. The village is pleasantly situated in a fertile plain, being within a short distance of part of the Blomidon hills, which we have resolved to visit before the exhibition opens at one o'clock. On attaining the summit we beheld a scene of pleasing grandeur, presenting as it does a more cultivated aspect than any portion of Nova Scotia we have previously beheld from an elevated position. The wood which originally abounded in the district has been to a great extent cut down, and the patches that remain are intersected by fertile fields—the open ground being dotted by snug dwelling-houses. Vehicles proceeded from all directions to the show, charged with men and matrons, country lads and blooming lasses—presenting a very animated picture—their extraordinary number proving how interested the people were in the Exhibition. Anxious to have a preliminary view, we were soon at the door of the Exhibition hall, to which we were at once admitted. The judges had met in the morning and awarded the prizes—a task of considerable delicacy as well as difficulty. Along the interior walls of the building, which in form was an oblong square, ran a table on which were placed the apples, grapes, vegetables, &c., for exhibition. This table was subdivided into different compartments, each of which was devoted to the display of the property of an exhibitor. A ticket, indicating the description of apple, was placed above the respective lots, so that persons ignorant of the varieties, which exceeded sixty in number, became by careful attention familiar with the names of

the different kinds. The whole of the table space on each side of the hall was devoted to the exhibition of apples,

"Blooming, ambrosial fruit
Of vegetable gold,"

whilst the space at each end of the building groaned with the other exhibited varieties of the vegetable world. We have been present at many fruit exhibitions of the Old World, but at none where there was a display of apples that could bear comparison with that before us. The sight was one of which Nova Scotia has reason to be proud, and which ought to put all the croakers, of whom there are not a few in the Province, who prate about the poverty of the soil and the severity of the climate, to shame and silence. That must verily be a severe climate in which such grapes as are seen here exhibited have grown in the open air—a dreadful climate in which, in some cases, a double crop of strawberries can be had in one season—a fearful climate in which tender fruit, such as peaches, come to maturity—a climate of unmitigated severity in which we find ourselves, towards the end of October, oppressed by the rays of the sun, and wiping the perspiration from our heated brow. There is the sprout of a cherry tree which was grafted on a wild brother two years ago. In that period it has only attained the dwarfish height of eight feet; and if the grumblers about the severity of the weather, and the unsuitableness of the climate for human growth, require a natural specimen in confirmation of their opinion, we shall be happy to introduce them to Miss Swan, who has only grown seven feet four inches in eighteen years! As evidence of the productiveness of the soil in this region, we were assured by a gentleman in Kentville that in the neighborhood a single acre of ground produced, by careful manuring, four hundred bushels of potatoes in one season; and we were startled by the fact that the Valley of the Annapolis yields annually from forty to fifty thousand barrels of apples.

The Rev. G. M. Grant has done the Dominion good service by the recent publication of his admirable book "From Ocean to Ocean," in which he gives a glowing but faithful description of the prairie land of the Far West. But in sober earnest it may be said that Nova Scotia presents to a farmer of moderate capital, skill and industry a more tempting field for settlement than even the rich virgin soil of the prairie. It is true that, with comparatively trifling expenditure of labor, splendid crops can be obtained in the regions alluded to; but where is the market for the sale of what may be produced? Here a farmer can obtain land at a moderate price, and will experience no difficulty in bringing his produce to market—a market, too, that is yearly improving. He can, also, have his family well educated, and those social advantages in which an unsettled country is deficient, and which add so materially to the aggregate of human comfort and happiness.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The coal fields of Nova Scotia—Their extent—Annual production—First attempt at mining in Cape Breton—Annual output at the various mines—The coal question in Great Britain—Trades Unions—Extent of the British coal fields—The Iron ores of the province—Their extent—The Potter mine at Clementsport—Iron ore near Whycocomah and Port Hood.

NOVA SCOTIA has become famous for the extent of its coal fields, and the excellence of the quality of its coal. It is impossible to form an approximate estimate of the quantity of the mineral in the Province, as the formation has not been sufficiently explored. Mr. John Campbell, of Dartmouth, estimates the entire quantity of the carboniferous area in the Maritime Provinces as about eighteen thousand square miles, and that at least the half of that area, or nine thousand square miles, are in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The Secretary of the Montreal Board of Trade states in his report for last year, 1872, that the known profitable working area is about two thousand two hundred square miles; the number of acres being one million four hundred and eight thousand, and the contents of each acre being estimated at thirty thousand tons—the total available supply amounting to 42,240,000,000 tons. Professor Leslie says: "The Albion Mines' beds are very extraordinary deposits—they form an exception to all the phenomena of coal in all the British Provincial coal regions. Nothing like them has been discovered in the Provinces. The thickest beds of Cape Breton, East Coast, are never over twelve feet, and usually under nine feet; but here we have one bed—the main seam—thirty feet six inches thick, of which twenty-four feet are good coal, the other half being poor coal and black shale in intermediate layers. The enormous quantity of coal here presented can only be estimated properly by those who have been used to the vast operations on the grey ash part of the anthracite region, where the regular thirty feet vein yields at least twenty millions of tons to the square mile after all deductions have been made." Mr. Richard Brown published, in 1871, a book on the coal fields and coal trade of Cape Breton, in which he says—and he is a first-rate authority—that although the total thickness of the Sydney coal measures has not been correctly made out, there is good reason to conclude that from Burnt Head to Glace Bay, where the highest known bed occurs, down to the millstone grit, it is not much under seven thousand feet. The Sydney coal field—the most extensive in the Province—extends from Mira Bay on the east to Cape Dauphin on the west, a distance of thirty-one miles—a tract of country occupying an area of about two hundred square miles. These facts are mentioned as merely indicating the extent of the Nova Scotia coal fields which are only beginning to be duly appreciated. As evidence of the rapidity with which this portion of the resources of the Province is being developed we present a list of the coal mines opened in Cape Breton since

the year 1858, with their estimated contents as detailed in Mr. Brown's very interesting book:

	Estimated contents of Mines.
South Head Colliery, Cow Bay	262,500 tons
Tracey's Colliery, Mira Bay	3,520,000 "
Gowrie Mines, Cow Bay	11,872,000 "
Block House Mine, Cow Bay	9,750,000 "
Acadia Colliery, Schooner Pond	———
Clyde Colliery, Glace Bay	12,500,000 "
Caledonia Colliery, Glace Bay	25,605,000 "
Glace Bay Colliery, Little Glace Bay	43,900,000 "
International Mines, Bridgeport	47,600,000 "
Victoria Mines, Low Point	55,640,000 "
Ingraham's Colliery, Bras d'Or Road	———
Collin's Colliery, Little Bras d'Or	750,000 "
Matheson's Colliery, Little Bras d'Or	———
Black Rock Colliery, Great Bras d'Or	2,700,000 "
New Campbelltown Colliery, Great Bras d'Or	9,000,000 "
Chimney Corner Colliery, Margaree	———
Broad Cove Area, Gulf Shore	———
Mabou Area, Gulf Shore	———
Port Hood Colliery, St. George's Bay	———
Richmond Colliery, Little River	———
Sea-Coal Bay, Gut of Canso	———
New Mines in progress	9,633,000

The quantity of coal raised in Nova Scotia in 1827 was only 11,491 tons. In 1837, the quantity was 109,347 tons; in 1847, it rose to 183,099 tons; and in 1857, 267,808 tons. Under the reciprocity treaty between Britain and the United States adopted in 1854, the trade continued to be greatly developed—culminating in 1865 in the production of 635,586 tons—till in 1867 on the abrogation of the treaty, and the imposition by the States of a duty of five shillings sterling a ton, it received a check, from which under a more modified impost—seventy-five cents—by Congress, and an immense rise of prices in Britain it is now rapidly recovering, and promises within a few years to expand at a remarkably rapid rate.

The following statement shows the quantity of coal raised and shipped in the Province of Nova Scotia from the year 1827 to the year 1872 inclusive:

Year.	Tons.	Cwt.	Year.	Tons.	Cwt.
1827	11,491	0	1839	133,928	11
1828	19,429	17	1840	98,267	17
1829	20,252	12	1841	136,110	9
1830	25,240	6	1842	119,478	12
1831	34,424	8	1843	97,200	12
1832	46,580	6	1844	99,993	14
1833	59,497	4	1845	137,908	13
1834	46,677	12	1846	134,393	12
1835	51,813	5	1847	183,099	13
1836	98,427	3	1848	170,518	1
1837	109,347	12	1849	158,955	10
1838	97,938	14	1850	163,725	8

Year.	Tons.	Cwt.	Year.	Tons.	Cwt.
1851	139,976	18	1863	424,425	2
1852	171,821	18	1864	576,934	0
1853	196,935	17	1865	635,536	0
1854	213,250	16	1866	558,519	0
1855	216,[illegible]38	3	1867	471,185	0
1856	231,[illegible]64	7	1868	453,624	0
1857	267,808	17	1869	511,794	0
1858	289,618	0	1870	568,276	
1859	267,496	0	1871	596,418	
1860	304,129	0	1872	785,914	
1861	334,545	15		10,864,862	
1862	393,631	5			

This statement shows that last year—1872—upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand tons more coal have been raised in the Province than in any previous year, the production of 1865 coming nearest to it.*

The production of 1873 promises to exceed to a large extent that of the previous year. We give a comparative statement of the output and sale for the first six months of 1873, as compared with the same period of last year:—

Coal raised in 1873	455,560	tons
" " " 1872	275,060	
Increase	183,500	
Coal sold in 1873	226,700	tons
" " " 1872	157,100	
Increase in six months	69,600	tons

It is singular that for a period of nearly two hundred years after the discovery of Cape Breton, where the coal deposits are in many places exposed on the coast, historians and navigators made no mention of them. Nicholas Denys, to whom reference has been made in another part of this work, was the first to publish to the world their existence, in a book published in Paris in 1672. For a number of years vessels were loaded from the cliffs. In 1708, M. Raudot, the able intendant of the marine of Canada, previously referred to, pointed out in a report furnished to the French Government, the advantages which France might derive from the prosecution of the trade in coal, which he represented as abounding in the Island of Cape Breton.

The first attempt at mining in the island was made on the north side of

* The Canadian market must be almost entirely supplied with bituminous coal from Nova Scotia, and the growing wants of the Upper Provinces especially, must furnish a large amount of trade in the article. The absence of unity of action amongst capitalists has occasioned in the Island of Cape Breton considerable expenditure which might have been avoided; it is to be hoped that the experience of the past will lead to more harmonious action in future. When, for example, one railway might be constructed, which would accommodate several proprietors why should separate lines be formed? The expense of construction and maintenance might be equitably divided. The interests of all the coal proprietors may be said to be—to a large extent— identical.

Cow Bay in 1720, in order to supply the workmen who were laying the foundation of the fortress of Louisbourg. In 1766, Benjamin Gerrish, William Lloyd, James Armstrong, and Peter Bard, merchants of Halifax, were authorized to dig three thousand chaldrons of coal, paying four hundred pounds sterling for the privilege—the lessees being obliged to send the half of the quantity mentioned to Halifax, and to sell it at no higher price than twenty-six shillings sterling, a chaldron. These gentlemen opened a mine at Sydney * —then called Spanish River—from which the necessary quantity was extracted. Meantime, parties helped themselves copiously from the cliffs, and in this clandestine way a considerable trade was carried on, till the Government sent troops to put a stop to further excavations.

On Lieutenant-Col. Desbarres being appointed Governor of the Island, in 1784, he commenced mining on Government account, when the coal was sold at eleven shillings and sixpence the ton. The Governor who succeeded Desbarres in 1788, recommended that the mines should be leased, which was done to Thomas Huxley; three shillings and sixpence for every ton produced going into the pocket of the Governor—a perquisite which was abolished by order of the Secretary of State, in 1792. The quantity of coal yielded by the mines in Cape Breton, each year for the four years previous to 1826, when they came into the hands of the General Mining Association, was about 7,500 tons. The output of the Island in 1872 was 383,343½ tons. Pictou is, however, still in advance of Cape Breton, having produced in the same year 388,417½ tons.

In Cumberland, preparations are being made for the conduct of business, on a scale bearing a reasonable proportion to the admirable coal deposits of the county. At the Joggins, 12,291 tons were sold during 1872, being 1377 tons more than the output of the preceding year.

The Spring Hill Mining Company have a most valuable property, which they are now working with spirit.

The Albion Mines Company sold in 1872, 98,865 tons, being an increase of 21,732 tons over the previous year. The Acadia Company sold in 1872, 123,063 tons, exceeding the sales of the previous year by 19,056 tons, being the largest output for any one mine in the Province.

The Intercolonial sold in 1872, 105,545 tons, an increase of 54,058 over the total quantity mined during the previous year. An accident, resulting in great loss of life, has put a stop in the meantime to the operations of this enterprising company.

The Nova Scotia Company sold in 1872, 60,590 tons, an increase over the previous year of 48,072 tons.†

The Sydney Mines turned out in 1872, 102,691 tons. The operations of the Company were interfered with by the snow storms in winter, blocking the railway and retarding the shipments.

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* Sydney has been so named after Lord Sydney, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

† For interesting information respecting the Pictou coal fields, see Geological Reports, by Sir W. E. Logan and Mr. E. Hartley; also Appendix—separately published by Mr. Hartley: Dawson Bros., Montreal, 1870.

The Victoria Company sold in 1872, 19,222 tons, and the Lingan 38,404 tons—an output largely in excess of last year's.

Operations at the International having been suspended, and not resumed till September, the business done was necessarily limited.

The quantity yielded by Glace Bay in 1872 was 30,715 tons—difficulty having been experienced in obtaining the necessary amount of labor.

The Caledonia produceed 44,186 tons—an increase of 19,531 tons.

The Clyde sold 2,606 tons.

The Blockhouse sold 42,748 tons, and Gowrie 46,602, being an increase on the latter of 4,171 tons.*

In England the coal question is being largely discussed. The enormous rise in the price of coal has been felt by the entire population, and the causes of it have been investigated by a special commission.† Nova Scotia as a coal producing country is likewise deeply interested in the general question—the present stimulus in the trade being mainly attributable to the high price which the mineral has attained in Great Britain.

Twenty years ago there were no reliable mineral statistics published periodically in Great Britain, but in the year 1855 Robert Hunt published a work of that description, in which the quantity of coal raised in the United Kingdom, as ascertained by means of circulars addressed to the various owners or lessees of collieries, and by personal inquiries, was 64,661,401 tons. The development of the trade since that period has been astounding. In 1857 sixty-five millions of tons were extracted, in 1859 nearly seventy-two millions of tons, in 1865 ninety-eight millions of tons, and in 1871—the latest authentic return—*one hundred and seventeen millions* of tons were raised! The extraction may therefore attain in five years hence, under present causes, to one hundred and thirty millions of tons for the year, in which case the entire coal production of Britain will have about doubled itself within twenty years. Mr. Jevons, in his work on the coal question, anticipated that in 1871 the consumption would amount to nearly one hundred and eighteen millions of tons, and a writer in the Edinburgh *Review* had, independently, made an estimate of a rather less quantity upon similar elements of computation. These gentlemen were considered alarmists in consequence, but the official return for 1871 of 117,352,028 tons proved that they were approximately right.‡ And the British Parliamentary Committee appointed to consider the question say that the general conclusion to be drawn from the whole evidence produced during their deliberations is that, though the production of coal increased in 1872 in a smaller ratio than in the years immediately preceding, yet if an adequate supply of labor can be obtained the increase of production will shortly keep pace with that of the last few years.

But the question occurs, to what causes is the high price attributable, seeing that the increase of output has been so enormous? Mainly, in the first place, to the extent of the demand, and in the second place to combination on the part of the workmen, in order to obtain higher wages, and

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* For Analysis of Coal see Appendix G.

† Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the several matters relating to coal in the United Kingdom, 3 Vols., 1871.

‡ Edinburgh "Review" for April, 1873.

perform less work. The quantity of coal consumed in 1869, in making pig iron was estimated as 16,337,271 tons, and the coal used in the conversion of the pig iron into malleable iron was 15,859,335 tons, the total coal used in iron manufacture, being thus in 1869, 32,196,606 tons. The pig iron produced in Great Britain in 1871, amounted to 6,627,179 tons, its value being estimated at £16,667,047.—In 1830, only 678,000 tons of iron were produced, and in 1855, the quantity was 3,325,000 tons, so that in sixteen years, the quantity made has very nearly doubled. This wonderful development in the making of iron is attributable to the ever increasing quantity required in ship building, and the extensive substitution of iron for wood for manufacturing purposes.

In Great Britain, a few men whose vocation is agitation find favor amongst the colliers. They generally consist of fellow workmen, who are endowed with some natural eloquence, and who use it for the purpose of producing the conviction amongst the men that they are a very ill used class, and that by uniting, they can put the masters at defiance, and compel them to advance their wages. The agitators in many cases do not work much themselves, but act as secretaries and treasurers to societies, which they have been mainly instrumental in forming, and whose ostensible object is the protection of the workmens' rights. The trades unions are combinations of these societies, which have become very formidable in Great Britain. That workmen have the right to unite for mutual protection cannot be denied, and that, in not a few cases, the unreasonable conduct of employers renders such combination necessary is conceded; but when trades unions extend their operations to prevent, by threats and other unjustifiable means, men willing to work from selling their labor, they assume functions which interfere with the due liberty of the subject. Labor is capital, and every man possessing it has a right to sell it in the dearest market; but no man, or body of men, has the right to prevent others from disposing of their labor on any terms they please. Strikes may in some cases be necessary evils, but taking them in the aggregate they have been productive of far more evil, even to working men, than good.* The colliers in Britain, believing that the high price of coal is favorable to their personal interests, have resolved to limit the production, so as to keep up the price; the result being strikingly presented in a table prepared by the Parliamentary Committee, lately appointed to investigate the subject, by which it is proved that 307,542 employed in the collieries in 1864, produced ten tons more coal than 413,334 men employed in 1872. Here is the the table:

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* Colliers are engaged in hazardous and laborious employment, and ought to be well paid for their work, but it is not for the permanent interest of the men to unite in order to force up the price of labor, any more than it is the interest of employers to unite in order to depress it beyond its natural level. For many of the strikes, employers are to blame, because they do not promptly and without solicitation give the men the benefit of a rise in prices, leaving the initiative for an advance with the men themselves, who are impressed with the conviction that the employers are disposed to act unfairly. Employers by holding friendly intercourse with their men, might do a great deal to prevent disastrous strikes, and that bitterness and alienation which in too many cases exist.

Year.	Number of Men Employed.	Coal raised, tons per man.
1864	307,542	309
1865	315,451	313
1866	320,663	314
1867	333,116	316
1868	340,820	302
1869	345,446	316
1870	350,894	321
1871	370,881	317
1872	413,334	299

The result is that coal is now selling in London for household purposes at forty-five shillings per ton, and the Scottish American Journal informs us that ere this year has ended the price in New York will be ten dollars per ton. What the miners have accomplished in Great Britain is being effected in the States by a combination among the companies that control the mining and transportation of anthracite coal. Stoves and furnaces in the Eastern States having been constructed for this description of coal, the community are to a certain extent temporarily at the mercy of the companies referred to; but the high price now charged for anthracite has tended to develope the production of bituminous coal to a larger extent than formerly, of which only about a third of all the coal raised in the States previously consisted, but which during the past year constituted more than one half of the aggregate production—the quantity for 1872 being anthracite nineteen millions of tons, and bituminous, of which there is an immense deposit—twenty-two millions of tons.* Both the miners of Great Britain, and colliery owners of the States will find to their cost that the supply of an article upon which the prosperity of Kingdoms and States is so largely dependent cannot be limited by their behests. Absolute freedom of labor, which must ultimately prevail, and the introduction of coal cutting machinery, will prevent a permanent monopoly of labor; and in the other case, the adaptation of furnaces and stoves to bituminous coal—a result which still higher prices of anthracite is sure to produce—will be an effectual antidote.† Wm. Baird & Co., of Scotland, are now employing a coal cutting machine which is known as Gledhill's patent Imperial, and which consists of an endless chain, with attached cutters drawn round an arm which extends under the coal. "When the machine is at work—says an able writer in the Edinburgh Review—it draws itself by means of the motive power of the air, which is compressed at the pit's mouth to thirty-five to forty pounds per square inch, and is conveyed from the pit's mouth to the inner cast iron pipes, and while at work is only

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* The exact quantity produced in 1872 in the States was 41,491,135 tons.

† The same result may be confidently anticipated in the West Indies, where, as present, English coal is almost exclusively used, being brought to market by vessels chartered to return with cargoes of sugar. The writer has been courteously favored with the perusal of a letter from a West Indian Merchant to a friend in Halifax in which the prospects of the West Indian coal trade are discussed with clearness and ability. The writer says that the price of English coal has recently advanced so much that the present furnaces which are adopted for it must give place to others suited for Nova Scotian coal. As evidence of the further extention of business, it may be stated that vessels which used to proceed from England to Canada with cargoes of coal now leave in ballast, putting in at Cape Breton Ports, and loading coal for the Canadian market.

attended by three men." The Messrs. Baird say that the work done by this invention is three hundred to three hundred and fifty feet, cut two feet nine inches deep, in "a shift" of from eight to ten hours' work, and as the particular seam worked by it is two feet ten inches thick, the yield is from seventy-five to ninety tons—the cost of the machine being two hundred pounds. It is calculated that if these machines were generally adopted, of the three hundred thousand colliers now employed, sixty thousand would suffice to raise the annual British extraction of one hundred and twenty million tons. The application of this machine to the thick seams of the Nova Scotia formation, for which it is admirably adapted would produce a proportionally more satisfactory result as to quantity.*

As the demand for and price of Nova Scotia coal will mainly depend upon the condition of the British coal trade, the people of this Province are as deeply interested in the general subject, as the people of Great Britain. The question then occurs, what is the quantity of coal available in Great Britain, or in other words, how long is the stock to last upon which there is a present annual demand of 120 millions of tons, a demand which is likely to continue, augmenting from year to year for an indefinite period? British writers of eminence are already referring to the time when Britain must apply for her coal to the British North American Provinces, which are represented to have eight thousand square miles of *workable* coal, of which Nova Scotia contains a large proportion.† The most reliable data are furnished by the nine able commissioners appointed to investigate the subject, who affirm, after careful inquiry, that the probable quantity contained in the coal fields of the United Kingdom is 90,207 millions of tons, but they state that there is *probably* at workable depths 56,273 millions of tons—forming an aggregate of 146,480 millions of tons. On the assumption that the annual consumption increased to two hundred and thirty millions of tons, this estimated supply would be sufficient for six hundred and thirty-six years. But there are serious impediments to the satisfactory working of deep coal beds. The increase of temperature in coal mines is about 1° Fahr. for every sixty feet of depth, but the experience furnished by the deepest coal pit in Great Britain, that at Rosebridge, near Wigan, and where the shaft is 2,376 feet deep, indicates

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* Professor Hind in his report, 1871, on the Sydney Colliery says—"Many of the objections to the general use of coal cutting machinery are to be traced to prejudice, and opposing interests. Ample proof exists that simple and effectual coal cutting machines are now in operation in Europe which will effect a saving of fully one half in cutting out the coal. The advantages are of a threefold character.

1st. Safety by avoiding the use of gunpowder.
2nd. The less amount of slack obtained,
3rd. The saving in labor and time.

The Grafton Jones' coal cutting machine is described as pushing coal out of the solid, without any holing or natural breaks in the seams. At Keverton Park Colliery, in South Yorkshire the seam is five feet thick, and the coal is very hard; but by the use of the hydraulic wedge, blocks are got four yards long and four feet wide—each about eight tons weight—by one application of the machine."

† The observations of the Rev. G. M. Grant in crossing the American Continent fully corroborate the report as to the enormous quantity of coal in British North America. That gentleman in his valuable work, "Ocean to Ocean," recently published, describes seams which he saw on the North Saskatchewan, and also on the Pembina River.

that the rate of heat increases in greater proportion after reaching 1,800 feet—the thermometer registering 92° Fahr. at the lowest point of this pit, beyond which heat it would seem impossible to work with comfort. The additional expense of working coal at great depths, and with increased heat, which it might be impossible to counteract, renders the economical value of the lower carboniferous strata doubtful.

Comparatively large as is the quantity of coal in Nova Scotia, it is not for the permanent interest of the Province that the export trade should attain to gigantic proportions. It is desirable that it should be used, as it is to a large extent in Great Britain, in rendering the iron ores which abound in the Province into pig and malleable iron, thus employing labor on a large scale, without which no country can be commercially great. The benefit to the Province from the simple extraction and transportation of the coal would be trifling, as compared with the advantages that would be derived from its application to the production of iron, and in manufactures of various kinds. The cotton manufacturers of England require about two and a half millions tons of coal, and the worsted and woollen manufacturers about one million and a quarter.

The coal exports of Great Britain are becoming alarmingly large. Twelve millions, ninty-two thousand tons were appropriated by foreign countries in 1872, being an increase of 302,027 tons over the shipments of the previous year. In 1862, France took 1,306,255 tons, and in 1872 her demand amounted to 2,191,340 tons. In England the great export of coal is beginning to be regarded as detrimental to the interests of the country.

The following are the Coal Exports from Great Britain and the United States to the Atlantic Ports of America.

GREAT BRITAIN EXPORTED.	COAL. 1870	1871	VALUE. 1871.
	Tons.	Tons.	
To British North America	224,955	189,274	£86,318
U. States of the Atlantic	80,014	91,483	61,524
British West Indies	174,198	175,335	99,387
Foreign West Indies	338,801	281,877	149,574
Mexico	3,256	2,821	1,227
U. States of Colombia	2,893	11,241	7,190
Brazil	261,508	316,417	188,036
Uruguay	122,686	96,648	65,888
Argentine Confederation	59,729	62,860	42,970
Total	1,268,040	1,227,956	£702,114

UNITED STATES EXPORTED.	COAL. 1871.	1872.	VALUE. 1871.
	Tons.	Tons.	
To Canada	216,633		
Cuba	11,932		
China	1,186		
East Indies	1,284		
U. States of Colombia	31,383		
Hayti	2,415		
Other Countries	3,117		
Total	267,951	300,878	$1,369,236

Greater attention is being now paid to the valuable iron ores of the Province with a view to the practical determination of their economic value. Professor Hind has recently published a report on the Cumberland coal fields in their relation to the iron deposits of the Cobequids, in which he says: "Nova Scotia is the only Province in the Dominion where iron and coal are in comparative close proximity, or in other words, where the conditions necessary for the manufacture of cheap and good iron prevail. The develop[illegible] of the Cumberland coal will be greatly stimulated by the simult[illegible]levelopment of the iron deposits of the Cobequids, and a new indus[illegible]ow rapidly spring into existence in Nova Scotia which will greatly [illegible]nce its prosperity. I have endeavored to reproduce in this report reliable information on the ores of the Cobequids, and their commercial relation to the Cumberland coal, under the conviction that the time is not far distant when Nova Scotia will be able to supply the Dominion, not only with an abundance of cheap and good coal, but also with cheap and good iron." Dr. Honeyman, in an able paper which appears in the transactions of the Nova Scotia Institute of Natural Science, 1869-70, on the Iron Deposits of East River, in the County of Pictou, says: "Theorists have advanced the same opinion as has been done in regard to the hematites of Londonderry mines. This opinion is, that it must necessarily be confined to the depth of a few feet. I met this view of the matter in a former communication to this Institute by the fact that a level cutting in the Londonderry beds, at a depth of 100 feet from the surface, showed the ore as still hematite. In addition to this, Mr. Jones, the manager of the Londonderry iron mine, in answer to inquiries, has informed me that he has proved the beds to a depth of 200 feet, and found the ore still hematite so that any theory of this band implying limited depth at East River is completely untenable." Dr. Honeyman's opinion has been fully corroborated by the fact that recently adit levels have been driven on the course of this vein, which, in a vertical depth of 350 feet, expose upwards of twenty thousand tons of ore, with an increase of the depth of the deposit as the descent becomes greater. The quantity of rich hematite seems in fact to be practically inexhaustible.

That the value of the iron deposits of the Province, which it is no exaggeration to say extend for miles in undiminished profusion, is being appreciated by men of skill and capital, is proved by the pleasing fact that English companies are in course of formation for the purpose of working these ores, in Pictou County, on a scale commensurate with their value, so that probably in a few years Nova Scotia will require her large stock of coal for her own works.

Mr. Henry S. Poole in his last published report to the Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, states that the Potter mine, the property of the Annapolis Iron Mining Company at Clementsport, neglected for several years, was reopened last summer, and that, during ten weeks, one thousand tons of ore were extracted, six hundred tons of which were smelted on the ground, yielding one hundred and sixty-three tons of pig iron which was shipped to Boston. Mr. Poole also informs us that preparations are in progress to establish the mines and iron works on a permanent basis, and that large quantities of raw ore will probably be exported for reduction in the furnaces of Pennsylvania.

The deposits of valuable iron ore in the neighborhood of the works of

the Intercolonial Iron and Steel Company, at Londonderry, are found to be immense, and operations are likely to be carried on much more extensively than at present at these works—the opening of the Intercolonial Railway affording facilities for the development of business.

Near Whycocomah there is a vein of iron ore of which Mr. R. G. Fraser, of Halifax, has given the writer the following discription: "The property," he says, "consists of a Government right of search over five square miles, and is situated on the side of a mountain, at the north-west side of Bras d'Or Lake, Cape Breton, about four miles from Whycocomah, on the road to Plaster Cove, Strait of Canso. The lode is of Red Hematite, and is four feet thick, nearly perpendicular, in serpentine rock, and running east and west with the strata of the rock. The lode is in 'a gulsh' in the mountain, and has been opened at the bottom of the gulsh, showing for forty feet a good solid vein. The place where the vein is situated is five hundred and forty feet from the place where the ore could be shipped. There is every facility for mining operations, with an unbroken forest of hard wood for charcoal. The ore can be shipped to the Sydney coal mines, which are distant about sixty miles; as according to the Government charts there is sufficient depth of water for large vessels all the way."

On the same property there is a rich load of magnetic ore ten feet wide, and also a lode of the same kind, not so rich, fifty feet wide, and mixed with slate, besides three other lodes of Red Hematite.

It is well known that the main advantage possessed by Great Britain over other countries in the manufacture of iron is owing to the ores being found in inexhaustless abundance, usually interstratified with the coal for their reduction, and in proximity to the mountain lime stone, which is used as a flux—the ores principally employed being clay ironstone, and carbonate of black bands. Professor How, in his "Mineralogy of Nova Scotia,"* quotes from a report by Mr. Barnes on a deposit of iron ore in Colchester county of the clay kind: "This ore is found in thin beds and nodules, chiefly in the lower coal formation, and contains from twenty to thirty-five per cent of metal. It occurs in Cape Breton in larger quantities and of richer quality than in any other portion of the Province. Nowhere, however, have I seen it in equal abundance to similar deposits in the United Kingdom, where it is the chief ore smelted, and there it occurs in the same formations as observed here." "Clay ironstone occurs in the Joggins section and elsewhere," Dr. Dawson says, "in balls and in shales, and in irregular bands. None of these deposits are at present of any economical importance, though could smelting works be established in connection with the Londonderry ores, a considerable additional supply of clay ironstone could be procured from the coal measures, and might be of much value." The late Mr. Edward Hartley, in his report, 1870, on the coal and iron of Pictou county, says of the clay ironstone: "A large number of bands of clay ironstone were noted during my examination of the Pictou

* "The Mineralogy of Nova Scotia," by Henry How, D.C.L., Halifax, N.S. Charles Annand, publisher, 1869.

This admirable book was published under the auspices of the present Local Government, and is indispensable to every intelligent Nova Scotian who wishes to become acquainted with the mineral riches of the country. A new edition, embracing the important mineral discoveries made since 1869, is much required.

coal field, but none of a size generally considered workable. Some thirty years ago, however, a cross cut was driven by the General Mining Association upon the measures underlying the main seam at the Albion mines, and several beds of ironstones were intersected; no reliable record remains of their size and quality, and the attempts therein are known to have failed, but whether from mismanagement, or from the poor quality of the ore is not certain."

But notwithstanding these somewhat unfavorable accounts of the clay ironstone to be found with the coal deposits of the Province, it must be gratifying to such of our Cape Breton friends as may not be aware of the fact to know that, interstratified with the coal veins in the township of Port Hood, the working of which, for want of sufficient wharfage and other reasons, has been for some time discontinued, there is abundance of what very nearly resembles, if it is not precisely identical with, the British clay iron ore, found interstratified in *large quantity* with the coal. Mr. Fraser, who has the right of search, showed the writer a section with the measurements of the deposit, and stated that it was analysed in England, and was found to contain forty-one per cent of iron.* This is, so far as the writer knows, the first discovery of valuable iron ore in large quantity found in Nova Scotia interstratified with coal. If lime stone to be used as a flux is found in the vicinity of the coal and iron, then all the conditions which have rendered Great Britain so famous as an iron producing and iron ship building country, are to be found in this little Province; but it is not perhaps too much to say that the superiority in the richness of the iron ores in Pictou County, and elsewhere, as compared with the quality of the British, does not more than compensate for the short distance they require to be conveyed for smelting.†

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* Mr. Henry N. Paint has shown us the analysis attested by the Assayist to the Bank of England.

† Port Hood, near which the ironstone has been found interstratified with coal is a flourishing town in the County of Inverness. The county is in length from the Strait of Canso to Cape North, upwards of one hundred miles, being in breadth from fifteen to twenty-five miles; its area exceeds two thousand square miles, mostly fit, when cleared, for cultivation. A lofty ridge of high lands run through the middle of the county, from north to south—the water from these on the west side falling into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and those on the east side into the Bras d'Or Lake. The first settlers of this county were a few Acadian French families, who emigrated from Prince Edward Island, in 1784, to Chetécamp, where the house of Robin & Co., of Jersey, erected a fishing establishment about that time. The next settler was a Captain Smith, who emigrated from New England, and erected the first house at Port Hood, and whose numerous descendants were farmers. In 1806 emigrants from North Britain began to flock into the country, and have continued to do so ever since, till the population of the county is now 23,415.

The above information has been mainly derived from an address delivered by Mr. Wm. McKeen, President of the Inverness Agricultural Society at its first meeting held in Port Hood on the first of March, 1842.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Gold Mines of Nova Scotia—First discovery of Gold in the Province—Reasons for the failure of Mining operations—The total quantity of Gold produced—Gold Mines of Australia as compared with those of the Province—Silver ore.

When gold was first discovered in Nova Scotia it is impossible to determine. The name given by the French to places such as Bras d'or, Cap d'or, &c., seem to indicate their belief in the presence, at an early period in the Province, of the precious metals. Mr. Heatheringtonsays that the discovery of golden quartz was first made by Lieutenant, now Captain, C. L'Estrange while moose hunting in the autumn of 1858.* The Captain in a letter under date, Halifax 22nd October 1867, addressed to Mr. Heatherington says that during a hunting trip on the Tangier river in September, 1858, he found unmistakable traces of gold in the quartz of that district. He with difficulty, having no hammer, procured a specimen, showing a trace of the metal, but the idea of its being gold was ridiculed by the *savans* in mineralogy—the only exception being Mr. Campbell of Dartmouth, who told him that he had discovered gold even in Halifax harbor. Three years afterwards Captain L'Estrange, when in the Mauritius, saw a newspaper account of the discovery of gold at Tangier.† Mr. Campbell had panned gold in 1849, and seems to have been the [illegible] to advocate the existence of the metal in quantity in the Province.

The enthusiasm which was first inspired by the discovery gradually abated, and a corresponding depression occurred when it was found that skill, capital, and patience were required to render the mines productive. Mr. H. S. Poole, in his report of 1872, on the inspection of the mines, says that a complete change has recently taken place in the working of the gold mines, and that there has been a consequent falling off in the number of men engaged, as well as in the quantity of gold produced—the change referred to being the almost total discontinuance of work by companies, and the introduction of the system of working the mines by tribute. Under this system a per centage on the value of the gold extracted is allowed to the mine proprietors by the parties who have undertaken to work them.

That gold mining in the Province is not conducted on the whole on scientific principles is admitted—the failure of satisfactory results being mainly due to the absence of the most approved and economical methods of working. In the report presented by Mr. Alfred R. C. Selwyn in 1871, in connection with the geological exploration of the Dominion, he attributes the failures in gold mining in Nova Scotia to the following amongst other causes—the rash expenditure of capital in the purchase of mining rights

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* A pratical guide for Tourists to the Gold Fields of Nova Scotia, by A. Heatherington—Montreal, John Lovell, 1868.

† For interesting information see Gold Commissioner's Reports for 1862 and 1863.

respecting the actual value of which nothing is known with certainty—the hasty and inconsiderate erection of machinery for mining and treating the ores before the quantity, or their probable value has been ascertained—the attempts frequently made to enhance the value of the stock by declaring dividends, sometimes paid out of capital, but often by means of a process known as "picking the eyes out of the mine," or in other words selecting all the rich material to secure a few high yields, which are far in excess of anything likely to be the future average, and the almost universal want of any appliances for saving pyrites and fine gold. With respect to the last cause professor Hind in his report on the Sherbrooke district says that attention having been called to the escaped gold in the tailings of one of the mills at Waverley, portions were recrushed, and passed over amalgamating tables—the official return presenting the following startling results. Two hundred and eighty eight tons of waste from the damp gave 32 oz. 5 dwts 11 grs.; sixty-three tons of waste from damp gave 13 oz. 12 dwt. 16 grs. Experiments with 675 tons of tailings made by an American, Mr. Ira Twist, Sherbrooke, resulted in 41 oz. of gold, and 70 lbs. of quicksilver, thus proving the value of the tailings of other mines.

Mr. Heatherington has produced a most complete and reliable table showing the yield of gold in Nova Scotia, from the first working of the gold mines, in 1860, to the close of the year 1872, compiled from corrected official records. The quantity produced in 1860, before the adoption of the sworn returns, he estimated at six thousand ounces. The total estimated and declared quantity of gold produced in the Province till the close of 1872 was 237,000 ounces, which, valued at four pounds sterling per ounce, was worth £948,000. It is estimated that twenty-one thousand ounces were stolen and not reported. The greatest difficulty is experienced in getting honest men to do the work. The evil is one which it is perhaps impossible entirely to counteract—gold being so easily concealed, and so readily marketable.

The following table shows the declared quantities obtained in the Province from 1862 to 1872 inclusive, with the districts by which they were respectively yielded:

	Native.	From Quartz.	Total.
	Oz.	*Oz.*	*Oz.*
Sherbrooke	8,000	57,946,379	57,984,379
Waverley	...	44,523,033	44,523,033
Renfrew	...	26,749,396	26,749,396
Wine Harbor	...	20,491,317	20,491,317
Montague	...	13,423,744	13,423,744
Oldham	...	13,106,642	13,106,642
Tangier	208,350	10,241,002	10,449,352
Stormont	18,000	10,204,783	10,222,783
Uniacke	...	7,978,937	7,978,937
Caribou	...	2,329,150	2,329,150
Ovens	311,000	131,402	442,402
Unclassified	556,771	1,171,001	1,727,772
Lawrencetown	775	441,256	441,031
	1,132,896	208,738,052	209,870,948

In what position, it may be asked, does Nova Scotia stand, regarded as a gold-mining country as compared with Australia, where the business is carried on much more extensively? Here is the average of gold produced per ton of quartz, as furnished by Mr. Heatherington:

Year.	Victoria, Australia.			Nova Scotia.		
	oz.	*dwt.*	*gr.*	*oz.*	*dwt.*	*gr.*
1864	0	10	6.9	1	0	20
1865	0	11	17.4	1	3	6
1866	0	10	16.2	0	17	13
Mean 1864-66	0	10	19.2	1	0	13

Seeing that the yield in Nova Scotia is much larger than in Australia, how comes it that the business is carried on much more successfully in the latter country? One reason is put with much clearness and force by Mr. Selwyn. According to the tables in the report of 1869 by the Commissioners of Mines in Nova Scotia, the total quantity of quartz crushed in that year in all the districts was 38,424 tons. The number of mills employed was fifty-four. The number of stamps is not given, but if an average for each mill of twelve stamps be allowed the number of stamps will be 648. Now the quantity crushed per stamp head in twenty-four hours is stated to be one ton. The average in Australia and California is from one and one and a quarter to two tons. The quantity crushed in Nova Scotia ought surely to be quite as large, proportionately, as in Australia. However, taking it at one ton, and allowing 250 working days, the 648 stamps ought to crush 162,000 tons, or more *than four times* the work actually done.

Then, if the element of labor be taken into account, we find that the price per man in Victoria is $2.00 to $3.50, and in Nova Scotia $1.25 to $1.50 a day. Thus Nova Scotia, both in regard to the average richness of the ore and the price of labor, has decided advantages. It follows, therefore, that the failure of gold mining operations in the Province is attributable to want of proper management. Mr. Selwyn, the Director of the Dominion Geological Survey, who has inspected the process of working, is clearly of that opinion, and the facts which he officially adduces place the correctness of his opinion beyond doubt.

Silver ore has not been discovered in the Province in any considerable quantity. Mr. Campbell, of Dartmouth, was the first to discover its existence in small quantity. He found it in the neighborhood of Grand Anse, where the Mackenzie river falls into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is disseminated through the drift of that stream in small grains and nuggets, and Mr. Campbell says that this appears to be the case along the greater part of its course, for in many trials made several miles inland he found the silver as plentiful as he found it near the Gulf coast. He says that the sources from which this stream derives the silver embodied in its drift are, as far as he has been able to discover, veins of a beautiful variety of spar, closely resembling meerschaum, that abound in some parts of the district —some of the veins containing native silver, embedded in strings and nests of a softish grey substance of earthy texture resembling the carbonate of that metal. Dr. How says that silver in small quantity is contained invariably in native gold, being shewn in every one of the analyses of that metal.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Fisheries of Nova Scotia—Their value—The Fisheries of British Columbia—The necessity for a general inspection law—Number of Fishermen in the Province.

In point of importance and value the fisheries of Nova Scotia, take precedence of all other mercantile interests. With a coast line of upwards of nine hundred miles, possessing harbors which in number and excellence are unrivalled, and with a population of hardy, skilful and stalwart men the business is prosecuted with energy and success. The value of the fisheries of the Province was in 1870, $4,019,424, in 1871, $6,570,739, and in 1872, $6,016,835.

The following table shows the quantity, rate, and value of each description of fish in the last named year.

Kinds of Fish.	Quantity.	Rate.	Value.
		$ cts.	$
Salmon	3,529 *brls.*	18 00	63,522
do (fresh in ice)	554,905 *lbs.*	0 12½	69,363
do (smoked and in cans)	74,620 "	0 15	11,193
Mackerel	115,631 *brls.*	14 00	1,618,834
do	50,500 *cans.*	0 12	6,060
Herring	168,513 *brls.*	4 00	674,052
do (smoked)	34,302 *boxes.*	0 25	8,576
Alewives	11,712 *brls.*	3 00	35,136
Cod	525,249 *qntls.*	4 25	2,232,308
Cod Tongues and Sounds	308 *brls.*	7 00	2,156
Pollack	24,099 *qntls.*	3 00	72,297
Hake	89,214 "	3 00	267,642
Halibut	4,643 *brls.*	5 00	23,215
Haddock	40,000 *fish.*	0 12	4,800
Shad	3,867 *brls.*	8 00	30,936
Lobsters	2,422,058 *cans.*	0 25	605,514
Bass	10 *brls.*	4 25	42
Trout	13 "	9 00	117
Smelts	443 "	4 25	1,883
Eels	1,016 "	17 00	17,272
Oysters	200 "	3 00	600
Fish Oil	414,419 *gals.*	0 65	269,372
Fish, (for manure)	700 *brls.*	0 25	175
Fish (for guano)	118 *tons.*	15 00	1,770
			6,016,835

It will be seen from the list that Cod stands first in value, next Mackerel and then Herring and Lobsters. With respect to the latter, the quantity taken is so large that in the event of no stringent law being adopted to enforce a *close* time this valuable crustacean will soon meet the fate of the oyster.

In order to show the relation in which Nova Scotia stands to the other Provinces of the Dominion as to the fisheries, we give the following table which shows the yield and value in Nova Scotia, Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario for the yeas 1870, 1871 and 1872:

Provinces.	Kinds of Fish.	Quantity. 1870.		Value. 1870.	Quantity. 1871.		Value. 1871.	Quantity. 1872.		Value. 1872.
Nova Scotia	Codfish	399,809	qtls.	$1,699,188	447,168	qtls.	$1,900,464	525,249	qtls.	$2,232,308
	Mackerel	85,254	brls.	1,023,048	228,152	brls.	2,737,824	115,833	brls.	1,624,894
	Herring	125,863	brls.	503,452	202,875	brls.	811,500	170,657	brls.	682,628
	Salmon	6,730	brls.	125,205	6,462	brls.	125,087	6,677	brls.	144,078
	Other Fish & Fish Oils	.....		668,531	.....		993,864	.....		1,332,927
				$4,019,424			$6,570,739			$6,016,835
Quebec	Codfish	155,874	qtls.	467,622	217,773	qtls.	653,319	217,741	qtls.	911,845
	Mackerel	3,677	brls.	36,770	7,638	brls.	76,380	1,759	brls.	17,590
	Herring	26,419	brls.	79,258	27,539	brls.	82,617	29,069	brls.	87,206
	Salmon	5,840	brls.	93,440	3,728	brls.	59,648	4,050	brls.	64,800
	Other Fish & Fish Oils	.....		484,461	.....		220,648	.....		238,748
				$1,161,551			$1,092,612			$1,320,189
New Brunswick	Codfish	21,167	qtls.	86,243	9,292	qtls.	43,268	81,420	qtls.	346,035
	Mackerel	3,282	brls.	39,384	4,636	brls.	56,603	2,217	brls.	32,728
	Herring	105,736	brls.	422,946	150,871	brls.	603,484	124,157	brls.	496,628
	Salmon	7,496	brls.	176,945	8,042	brls.	201,062	8,000	brls.	207,767
	Other Fish & Fish Oils	.....		405,917	.....		674,278	.....		882,301
				$1,131,435			$1,578,695			$1,965,459
Ontario	Whitefish	14,974	brls.	119,792	13,317	brls.	106,536	17,490	brls.	143,520
	Trout	10,396	brls.	83,168	7,477	brls.	59,816	7,586	brls.	60,688
	Herring	6,550	brls.	39,300	5,875	brls.	35,250	6,974	brls.	41,844
	Other Fish	7,516	brls.	22,732	1,891	brls.	11,575	4,466	brls.	21,581
				$264,982			$213,177			$267,633
	Total Values			$6,577,392			$9,455,223			$9,570,116

Note:—Salmon, Mackerel and Herring are uniformly reduced to barrels from the numbering by pieces, cans, boxes, &c.

It will thus be seen that the value of last years yield, excluding the Provinces of British Columbia and Manitoba—being $9,570,116—shows an increase of thirty-three per cent in two years.

The fisheries of British Columbia are said to be very valuable, though yet undeveloped. In a report sent last year to the Minister of Public Works it is affirmed "that the fisheries of Columbia are probably the richest in the world." The fish consist mainly of whale, salmon, houlican, cod, herring, halibut, sardine, anchovy, haddock and oysters. Salmon is fine in quality, and very plentiful—particularly in the Fraser River. Houlicans are small fish about the size of a sprat. They appear in the rivers on the coast towards the end of April. Their run lasts about three weeks, during which time they can be captured in endless myriads. Eaten fresh they are most delicious, and most excellent when packed in a salted or smoked form. This fish produces oil abundantly, which is of a pure and excellent quality. The fish is caught with a pole of about ten feet in length, along which are ranged for five feet at the end, nails like the teeth of a comb, only about an inch and a half a part. The pole is thrust smartly into the water, and when brought up with a backward sweep of the hands, is rarely found without three or four fish impaled on the nails. The reporter says that he has seen a canoe filled with them in two hours by a couple of fishermen.

Manitoba abounds in white fish. "Few persons," says Mr. W. T. Urquhart, in addressing the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, "in the Eastern portion of the Dominion have any adequate conception of the immense quantity of white fish found in the lakes and rivers of the North West."

The obstructions offered in our rivers to the ascent of Salmon and other fish to the spawning ground has been a growing evil, which has much diminished the quantity of fish on our coast, but which is being now removed by means of a system of inspection, which it is to be hoped will shortly become more thorough and rigid than it is at present. Mr. W. H. Venning, the Inspector of Fisheries for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick has called attention to the existing necessity for a general Inspection Law, by means of which the various qualities of fish may be guaranteed. As matters stand at present, inferior fish are much on the same level as fine in the market, on account of fraud in the branding. Here there is scope for wholesome legislation on a subject in which Nova Scotia is specially interested, and it is to be hoped that some one of our Dominion members will take the matter up, and succeed in obtaining a measure by which the interests of both buyer and seller may be secured.

Mr. Spencer T. Baird, the United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, addressed a letter to a gentleman in Maine, in November, 1872, in which he states the principal reasons for the diminution in the quantity of fish on the New England coast; his remarks being equally applicable to Nova Scotia. "Fifty years ago," he says, "the streams and rivers of New England were almost blockaded at certain seasons by salmon, shad and alewives seeking to ascend to the spawning ground, but the erection of impassible dams has prevented their ascent, and the consequence has been a remarkable diminution in the quantity of fish." Mr. Baird points to the fact that the quantity of deep sea fish is greatly dependent on the number of Shad, Alewives, &c., that ascend the rivers, and to the obstructions referred to he attributes in a great measure the failure of the New England fisheries.

The following table shows the number of men employed in the fisheries of Nova Scotia, and the value of boats and fishing material, for the year 1872.

Counties.	No. of. Men.	Value of Boats and fishing material.
Cumberland	250	25455
Colchester	180	10630
Hants	211	7500
King's	325	7250
Annapolis	282	15496
Digby	1107	42900
Yarmouth	1280	175082
Shelburne	1259	.....
Queen's	730	77863
Lunenburg	2156	89693
Halifax	2460	263520
Pictou	159	4810
Antigonish	675	22510
Guysborough	1981	193422
Richmond	1760	104860
Cape Breton	1158	32657
Victoria	1169	85950
Inverness	1955	50580
Total	19,097	1,311,178

It will be seen that Halifax County has the greatest number of fishermen. Lunenburg is next. Guysborough and Inverness are about equal, Yarmouth and Shelburne being very close on each other; Cape Breton and Victoria counties being also very near as to numbers.

The following statement is from the Census Returns for 1870, which have not been published as we write—save the first volume, which gives no information as to the fisheries—but which was obtained in advance by the Department of Marine and Fisheries. It shows the number of men, vessels and boats employed, respectively, in the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1870:

	Vessels.		Boats.	
	Number.	Men.	Number.	Men.
Ontario	20	73	1,154	2,307
Quebec	110	801	4,271	6,929
New Brunswick	139	537	3,003	4,776
Nova Scotia	710	5,469	7,941	11,855
	979	6,880	16,369	25,867

It will be observed that while both statements, which are official, profess to give the number of men employed in the fisheries in Nova Scotia—the first dealing with the year 1872, and the other with 1870—there is a difference in the numbers of 1773, an explanation of which may be found in

the fact that in the one case the number of actual fishermen may have been given who follow no other calling, and in the other the number of persons who engage in fishing either as an exclusive or occasional business.

In the year 1851 there were employed in the fisheries of Nova Scotia 10,394 men. According to the census of 1861 the number was 14,322. It is impossible, however, to say whether these numbers represent *bona fide* fishermen, or include persons who were only occasionally engaged in the occupation. In any case the numbers show a large increase in the men employed now as compared with the periods specified.

The census of 1861 shows 900 vessels and 8,816 boats engaged in the fisheries of the Province, and the statement which has just been given from the return of 1870 exhibits only 710 vessels and 7,941 boats. The only solution of this striking anomaly which occurs in the absence of details is, that a much larger class of vessels and boats may be now employed in the fishing business—thus, difference of tonnage accounting for a smaller number of vessels accommodating a larger number of men.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Population of Nova Scotia—Number of Houses in the Province—Religion of the People—Their origin.

The population of Nova Scotia at the taking of the Census in 1861 was 330,857; when taken in 1871 it was 387,800, showing an increase in ten years of 56,943. It will be observed by the following table that the populations respectively of Cumberland, Colchester and Inverness are very nearly the same.

Population of 1861 and 1871 compared by Electoral Districts within their present limits, (1872.)

Electoral Districts.	Territorial Superficies in acres.	Population.		Representation.
		1861	1871	
Hants	753,000	17,460	21,301	1
King's	519,000	18,731	21,510	1
Annapolis	837,000	16,753	18,121	1
Digby	653,500	14,751	17,037	1
Yarmouth	471,000	15,446	18,550	1
Shelburne	607,000	10,668	12,417	1
Queen's	681,900	9,365	10,554	1
Lunenburg	714,000	19,632	23,834	1
West Halifax	278,282	32,699	37,008	1
East Halifax	1,063,750	16,092	*19,955	1
Cumberland	1,031,875	19,533	*23,518	2
Colchester	837,000	20,045	23,331	1
Pictou	720,496	28,785	32,114	1
Antigonish	353,520	14,871	16,512	1
Guysborough	1,060,000	12,943	*16,555	1
Inverness	886,800	19,967	23,415	1
Victoria	767,000	9,643	11,346	1
Cape Breton	748,000	20,866	26,454	2
Richmond	398,880	12,607	14,268	1
Totals of Nova Scotia	13,382,003	330,857	387,800	21

The number of *inhabited* houses in Nova Scotia in 1861 was 49,569, and of vacant 1,918; in 1871 the numbers were, *inhabited*, 62,123; vacant, 2,351. The number of houses building in 1861 was 1,738; in 1871 only 1,461; showing that there was more enterprise in the building trade in the former year than in the latter, or in another aspect of the subject, that in 1871 the faith of persons accustomed to invest capital in houses is less in an adequate return than it was in 1861. While there is at present no increase of population which would warrant extreme briskness in the business of house building, yet the prospects of a considerable increase of popu-

lation within a few years is decidedly better than it could have been ten years ago.

The sexes are well balanced in the Province—the number of males being in 1871, 193,792, and of females 194,008, showing only a balance of 216 in the entire Province in favor of the ladies.

The number of widowers in the Province in 1871, was 4,102; of widows, 10,636.

The number of male children and unmarried males in the Province in 1871 was 130,533, whilst the number of female children and unmarried females was 124,084—the marked difference being doubtless owing to the emigration to the States of so many young women who are tempted by the high wages given to *Helps* in that country—the proportion of female emigrants being thus proved to be much larger than of the other sex.

The following table shows the census in 1861 and 1871 respectively as to the leading Religious Denominations in the Province:—

	1861.	1871.
Baptists	55,336	73,430
Free Will and Free Christian Baptists	6,704	.....
Roman Catholics	86,281	102,001
Church of England	47,744	55,124
Wesleyan Methodists	34,055	38,683
Presbyterians	88,519	103,539
Congregationalists	2,183	2,538

The following table shows the origin of the bulk of the people of the Province:—

English	113,520
Scotch	130,741
Irish	62,851
French	32,833
German	31,942

showing a decided preponderance of the Scotch element in Nova Scotia.

Of the present population of the Province 14,316 have been born in Scotland; in Ireland, 7,558; in England, 4,008; in New Brunswick, 3,413; in Prince Edward Island, 3,210; in the United States, 2,239.

Of the population of the Dominion the largest proportion are of French origin, the number being 1,082,940; of Irish, 846,414; English, 706,369; Scotch, 549,946; German, 202,991. There are only 1,115 Jews in the Dominion.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Advantages enjoyed by Nova Scotia for Manufacturing enterprise—Manufacturing progress in Belgium and Switzerland—Measures necessary to effect an increase of population—Attempt to establish a Cotton Factory in Halifax—Causes of past failures—The Machine trade of the Province—Notice of several Factories—The necessity for a Dry Dock at Halifax—The Shipbuilding trade and its origin—The Mechanics of the Province—Mechanics' Institutes in Ontario—Present duty.

Considering the advantages which Nova Scotia offers for industrial enterprize, the manufactures of the Province are few and on a limited scale. The sister Province of New Brunswick, with a much smaller population and proportionately inferior in wealth and other resources, displays enterprize far in advance of this Province. It has a number of manufacturing companies with large capitals, and the industries of St. John present greater variety than those of Halifax, although the latter city has greater wealth. To whatever causes the stagnation in Nova Scotia is attributable, they are not to be found in the absence of the main elements necessary to secure success. Its geographical position in relation to the markets of the world, its capacious and well sheltered harbors, its extensive shipping, its mineral wealth, especially in coal and iron, and its water power, clearly mark it as a country most favorably adapted for manufactures.

It has, indeed, been said that without a large Provincial population to consume what is produced, success cannot be expected. The history of the progress of manufactures in other countries seem to prove the contrary. We can point to a country in Europe having a comparatively small population, and which is surrounded by teeming populations of almost unrivalled skill and industry, but which succeeded, first on a small, but subsequently on a more extensive scale, in competing with eminent success with the foremost of its rivals. We refer to Belgium, which has only an area of of eleven thousand two hundred and sixty-seven square miles, and a population—in 1870—of 5,087,105, but the yearly commerce of this little kingdom is very large. The exports of Belgium, in 1871, to Great Britain alone, were in value £13,573,274, whilst all she took in return from the manufacturing mistress of the world, in the same year, amounted in value only to £6,217,005. She exported sugar in that year to the value of £1,366,687; yet Halifax, with the West Indian raw sugar as open to it as any country in the world, and with a large Provincial consumption, cannot finish a sugar refinery on which considerable capital has already been expended, and of which a competent gentleman is ready to take charge, but prefers being dependent for its supply on other countries. The quantity of sugar imported during 1872 into Nova Scotia, liable to duty, was 6,491,463 lbs., valued at $352,190, besides a considerable quantity from the sister Provinces, of which, not being subject to duty, no official record has been kept.

"One of the most important natural productions of Belgium, and chief basis of its industry," says the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1873, "is coal, which is raised in ever increasing quantities." It is found in three of the nine provinces of which the kingdom consists. The quantity exported in 1870 was 3,114,850 tons. In coal, Nova Scotia is probably equal to Belgium, and surpasses it in the quality and extent of its iron ores, and if the manufacturing greatness of Great Britain is to a large extent dependent on the supply of these two minerals, why should they not also prove the basis of industrial greatness in Nova Scotia? These facts are mentioned not so much for the purpose of comparing the manufacturing facilities of Belgium with those of Nova Scotia, but simply to show that a small country with indomitable energy, in combination with the necessary elementary advantages, may rival in skill and enterprise older states which have been long famous for the extent and excellence of their productions.

Turning for a moment to Switzerland, we have further evidence of successful industrial competition on the part of a comparatively insignificant people. It has a population of about one-half that of Belgium. Although, according to the census of 1870, one-half of its people are supported either wholly or in part by agriculture, yet the manufactures of the Republic employed at the time mentioned two hundred and sixteen thousand four hundred and sixty-eight persons—the number of handicraftsmen being two hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred and twenty-five. The manufacture of cotton goods occupies upwards of a million spindles, four thousand looms, and twenty thousand operatives, besides thirty-eight thousand hand-loom weavers. Is it not paradoxical that we have not in Nova Scotia, although on the continent which produces the raw material in great abundance, one cotton factory. In this department New Brunswick has so far set us a successful example—a fact which furnishes an unanswerable argument in opposition to the opinion that a cotton mill would not be remunerative in this Province. If the cotton yarns produced at the St. John factory compete so successfully with those produced in England as to sell largely in this Province, why could not cotton goods of equal comparative excellence be also produced? If we apply the argument derived from smallness of population against the establishment of factories in Great Britain, or any other country pre-eminent for its manufactures, its futility will at once appear. In 1871 Great Britain exported produce to the value of £223,066,162 sterling, being to the value of £7 10s. 3d. sterling per head of the population, and of the quantity mentioned North America received £8,257,126 worth, proving the large extent to which the Parent State depends on the foreign market for her mercantile prosperity. It seems manifest, therefore, that if Nova Scotia is to attain to as much eminence, in proportion to her population and material resources, in general manufactures as she has attained in shipbuilding, she must look, like other spirited countries beyond her own borders for a market, not being scared by obstacles which othe. states, with no greater advantages, have encountered and overcome. Let it, moreover, be borne in mind that the Dominion itself presents a market in which no hostile tariffs are imposed, as well as a field for honorable rivalry. Its population is about three millions and a half—3,485,761 at the last census—and it is admitted by leading authorities in all the Provinces that Nova Scotia, with the unrivalled advantages already specified, presents facilities for manufacturing enterprise which are not equalled in the sister Provinces.

At present the United States, by their imposts, interpose a formidable barrier to the introduction of our products, but it is satisfactory to know that there is a growing public opinion against the enormous existing tariff. The debt of that great country is being rapidly liquidated, and when reduced to a moderate sum a popular demand for a reduced tariff is certain to spring up, to which Congress will be forced to listen.

Increase of population is rather the result of mercantile prosperity than the cause of it. Before any considerable addition to the population of Nova Scotia can take place, there must of necessity be an increase in the demand for labor. The progress of the great cities of Europe and America illustrate the proposition—their increase being at the rate of, and concomitant with, their commercial and agricultural enterprise; and in accordance with this law of city growth, neither Halifax nor any other town in the Province can become a great commercial emporium, unless as a pre-requisite it becomes the seat of manufacturing industry. There is ample capital in the Province to give it a fair industrial start, and a judicious and spirited commencement is all that is necessary to secure a a satisfactory result.

An attempt was made in 1870 to establish a cotton factory in Halifax by an association, to which the writer acted as secretary. The capital required was one hundred thousand dollars, with power granted by charter to increase it to three hundred thousand. Only half the necessary sum could be raised, and the scheme consequently failed. As the arguments, however, then used in favour of a commencement remain now in full force they are respectfully submitted in a condensed form, in the hope that a second, and a more successful attempt may be soon made.

1. The production of a few facts from the official trade returns of the Dominion for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, 1868, will satisfactorily show the extent to which cottons are in demand.

In a general statement of the principal articles of British and foreign merchandize imported into the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, it is stated that during the year just referred to, cottons to the value of $5,724,146 were imported, the amount of duty paid for those entered for home consumption being $866,893. The value of the cottons imported into Nova Scotia in the same year, was $1,504,080, the duty paid thereon being $164,659. The cottons imported into New Brunswick in the same year amounted in value to $455,273, the duty being $65,638. Thus the Dominion imported in that year cotton fabrics to the total value of $7,683,499 the duty paid thereon being $1,097,190. A simple calculation, based on the figures just given, shows that Nova Scotia imports cotton goods to a much larger extent in proportion to population, than the three other Provinces specified. The population at the last census of Ontario and Quebec, was 2,507,000; of Nova Scotia. 330,000; and of New Brunswick, 252,000. Hence, while Ontario and Quebec imported, per head, cotton to the value of $2.28, and New Brunswick, $1.80, the Nova Scotia importations of the same article amounted to the large average per head of $4.55. The very great difference thus exhibited is mainly accounted for by the fact that the three sister Provinces are to a certain extent supplied by their own factories, whilst Nova Scotia is entirely dependent, in that article, upon her importations. It therefore becomes the duty of every Nova Scotian, considering the remarkable industrial resources of his country, to assist in removing the reproach implied in the facts just adduced.

II. The cost of freight, insurance, &c., added to the duty of fifteen per cent. imposed upon imported cottons, renders the prospect of success encouraging, more especially, as in the conduct of the business, a factory established in Nova Scotia would labour under few, if any disadvantages, as compared with the other Provinces of British North America or the United States, where cotton mills are now in operation. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that about 2,000,000 yards of grey cottons are imported annually into Halifax alone, and also about 4,000,000 yards of sail cloth, not to speak of a considerable quantity of cotton yarns—material which would require five times the producing power contemplated in the erection of the proposed factory.

III. The want of appropriate employment for females in the Province is being felt and complained of. The establishment of cotton factories would tend to supply the *desideratum*, besides giving a stimulus to other branches of industry.*

It must be admitted that attempts to carry on manufactures in the Province, by means of companies, have, on the whole, proved a failure, considerable loss having been sustained by the parties who had invested capital in them. Two causes have mainly contributed to this result, namely, deficiency in the management, and insufficient capital to ensure an adequate return—the persons usually having the direction of the business knowing little of its nature, or not having sufficient time to devote to it. As an instance where increased capital would give a more satisfactory return, we may refer to the boot and shoe factory at Amherst. Though the building has been constructed for the accommodation of a considerable number of workmen, yet they cannot be employed for want of the necessary funds for extending operations.

In addition to the above causes there is another of importance in the fact that the towns of Nova Scotia have neglected to offer inducements for the establishment of factories, such as have been presented with great liberality elsewhere. Again, the burden of municipal taxation to which they are subjected is such that it would seem, in many cases, as if a repressive policy were intended. In Halifax the same stock is taxed year after year, and when a meeting was held this year (1873,) to obtain redress for this evil none could be had. The truth seems to be that the mechanical interests of the Province are not adequately represented at the centres of Government. Yet such are the natural advantages of the Province, that from the publication of the last census returns it will be seen considerable progress has been made in manufactures since 1861, when the previous census was taken. When blast furnaces are erected, and the richness of the iron ores in which the Province abounds is tested on a large scale, a rapid development of industries, which now only exist in embryo may be expected.

The manufacture of machinery has within the last twenty years attained such gigantic proportions, and its use in every branch of industry has become so universal, that in all countries having any claim to be regarded

*The St. John "Telegraph" says that the cotton Mill in the city is turning out three thousand bundles of yarn or warps a week, and that looms are being put up, which, when in full operation, will produce 12,000 yards of cotton cloth a week. We congratulate Mr. Parkes on his enterprise.

as civilized, the various trades employed in its production and maintenance are now prosecuted. In Nova Scotia, the kinds of machinery principally in demand, and therefore chiefly manufactured, are stationary engines, saw mill machinery, pumps for mining and other purposes, heating apparatus for buildings, and in connection with these, boilers, castings of various kinds, and the necessary forgings. In view of the limited demand, and the fact that the Provincial industries have to compete with the productions of the United States (many of whose towns offer freedom from municipal taxation as a premium on the establishment of manufactures) and of Great Britain, the quantity and quality of the work produced are highly creditable to the skill and industry of our mechanics. In Halifax and the neighboring town of Dartmouth, there are eight machine shops, employing in their various departments upwards of five hundred men. Of these the railway workshop, and that of Messrs. Cunard are devoted entirely to the repair of machinery belonging to their respective establishments. Of the others the Nova Scotia Iron Works are the largest, and have facilities for the execution of heavy work superior to any in the Province. These works are owned by Mr. Wm. Montgomery, and employ about one hundred men. The mill work by this firm is well known for excellence of design and workmanship, and numerous engines of various sizes are turned out yearly. When tenders were invited for the construction of locomotives for the Intercolonial Railway, the proprietor contracted for ten of them, and notwithstanding the very great difficulties inseparable from the construction, in a Province where work of such complicated machines had never before been attempted, they have been overcome, and the contract is now half completed. Mr. Moir's foundry is well known throughout the Province, and the proprietor is probably not surpassed in experience by any one in it. Messrs. McDonald & Co. have a large and well appointed brass foundry, and make a speciality of steam and gas fittings, for which they find a brisk demand, in supplying which a large number of mechanics is employed. In Dartmouth, Messrs. W. S. Symonds & Co. have an extensive foundry and machine shop. In addition to stoves, which they manufacture very largely, they build steam engines of great power and efficiency, that which drives the machinery of the famous Starr Factory being a favorable specimen. Mr. MacKay has also a machine shop and boiler shop in Dartmouth, and as the establishment is situated close to the water's edge, the great facilities which it possesses for the execution of marine work are largely taken advantage of. There now remains to be noticed a factory unequalled in the Dominion, and which is probably unsurpassed by any other of the same extent elsewhere—we refer to the Starr Manufacturing Co.'s works at Dartmouth, which proves how much can be done by enterprise. The Company was established in the year 1864, for the manufacture of "Acme Skates," patented by Mr. John Forbes, the manager of the work, cut nails and any other articles of hardware which might offer prospective profit. In 1868 it was deemed nessessary to extend the operations of the concern, when the present Joint Stock Company was formed and incorporated, the capital stock of which has been increased from time to time till it is now two hundred thousand dollars, with power to increase it to five hundred thousand. The number of hands employed is about two hundred and fifty, and the aggregate wages paid average about one hundred thou-

sand dollars a year. The establishment turns out about four hundred pairs of skates a day. Besides "acme skates" and cut nails, railway scabbard joints, which are fast superseding all other joints, are being manufactured by the Company, and also bolts and nuts for machine purposes. The greatest skill and ingenuity have been displayed in the selection and construction of special machine tools, in the manufacture and repair of which a number of first-rate mechanics are constantly employed. This spirited Company contemplate erecting a rolling mill, for the manufacture of such iron as is used at the works, and also puddling furnaces. The works were at first driven wholly by water power from the Dartmouth lakes, but steam has been introduced, developing about one hundred and seventy-five horse-power, which renders the work independent of water when drought prevails. Such a work as this is of more substantial value to the Province than ten times the capital invested in stock, which provides no labor. The investment is yielding remunerative dividends, and promises on further extension to become still more profitable.

A visit to the Dartmouth Ropewalk, of which Mr. John F. Stairs is manager, and in which a large capital is invested, will convince any one of the settled determination of the Company, not only to supersede the necessity of importation of the articles they manufacture in point of quality, but of their ability to produce any quantity that may be required for the Province, and also to provide ample stock for exportation. The quantity of cordage required for the extensive shipping of Nova Scotia must be large, and the enterprise of the firm in manufacturing the article on the spot, in necessary variety, will doubtless meet with the reward to which, on business grounds, it is justly entitled.

At Pictou Mr. W. H. Davis has excellent machine works and a foundry, and may be said to be the father of engines and locomotives in the Province. Mr. Davis came to Nova Scotia in the year 1830, under the auspices of the General Mining Association, as lessee of the Iron Foundry at the Albion Mines—a position which he occupied with credit to himself and benefit to the Company for twenty-five years. The first pig iron manufactured in the Province was produced by him at the Albion Mines, and the first marine engine made in the Province was that of the steamer *Richard Smith*, plying between Pictou and New Glasgow, being constructed by Mr. Davis in 1833. He also made the first Provincial locomotive at the mines in 1839. Mr. Davis removed to Pictou in 1856, where he built the Iron Foundry, and where he now carries on a prosperous business, manufacturing steam engines, grist and saw mills.

Mr. Daniel Chisholm Harness manufacturer, New Glasgow, has produced work which has elicited commendation from the English Metropolitan Press, and Mr. Alexander McLeod of the same town has just patented a new Churn both in the United States and the Dominion, which Promises to be a success.

In Yarmouth Messrs. Johnson and Burrill have a large iron foundry and machine works. This establishment employs from seventy to a hundred men, and from its position, fronting the harbor, has unusual facilities for shipping its merchandise, and building and repairing steamers. Besides steam engines and mill work this firm manufactures ship's castings, stoves, ploughs, &c.

In the manufacture of furniture we have establishments which will com-

pare favorably with those of any of the sister Provinces. The works of Gordon & Keith are a credit to the Province. The building is spacious and well ventilated, being well worthy of a visit, not only as exhibiting the various processes of furniture manufacture, but also as commanding from its upper story a magnificent view of the harbor and the adjoining country. A. Stephen & Son have displayed enterprise by starting in the city a new factory, in which furniture and woodenware in great variety are produced on an extensive scale.

There are also in Halifax several extensive mills for the manufacture of sashes, mouldings, &c. Of these the principal are owned by Messrs. H. G. Hill, James Dempster and J. C. Merlin, the first named gentleman having the largest establishment of the kind in the Dominion. The lumber business is also extensively carried on in the Province, many fine saw mills being scattered over the country, but as far as the production of the raw material is concerned the trade must speedily die a natural death. The advance of cultivation, the limited area of the Province, together with the immense yearly consumption, and the fact that a great proportion of the country has already been lumbered over, and that the axemen have now in many cases to fall back on the second growth, point inevitably to such a result.

In our cities stone and brick are superseding wood for building purposes, and Nova Scotia supplies these materials in such unlimited abundance that as towns enlarge and forests decrease the rising generation may live to see the time when a wooden house will be an exception instead of, as at present, the rule in the towns of the Province.

The manufacture of boots and shoes is being carried on with ever augmenting spirit. The factories of George S. Yates & Co., and Robert Tayor, Halifax, are most extensive, and seem complete in every department, having all the modern appliances necessary to compete successfully with any kindred establishments on the continent.

Tyler's Brush factory, now in successful operation at Halifax, is an additional proof that we do not require to depend on other countries to the extent that some people imagine. In this establishment brushes of all kinds are manufactured, which rival in excellence, and surpass in cheapness those imported.

In manufacturing enterprise Truro takes precedence, in proportion to its population, of every other town in Nova Scotia. There are two shoe factories, a peg and last factory, a furniture factory, and a woollen factory, besides an extensive iron foundry and several tanneries in the town.

In Amherst there is the well-known foundry of Mr. Robb, admirably managed by Mr. Spence, producing besides stoves, mill and ship castings, all descriptions of hollow ware.

In tanning operations Mr. Logan and Mr. Campbell sustain the reputation of Pictou county, while in the thriving village of Shubenacadie, Mr. Fraser has recently built a substantial brick tannery adapted for the requirements of a growing business.

Our mechanics are not deficient in inventive genius. Two of Messrs. Symonds' men are now completing a self-acting lock for connecting railway carriages, which will supersede the present clumsy and dangerous method. Another mechanic in one of the city cooperages shows a model churn by which a vast deal of toil will be saved to our farmers' wives and

daughters, and E. L. Fennerty & Co. make a self-fastening skate which may rival the "Acme," now of world-wide reputation.

Steam power is being applied in our manufactures to a larger extent than formerly. Mr. Sandford, Halifax, uses it in marble polishing, and produces tomb stones of polished granite of great beauty and durability. In the tobacco factory of Taylor & McLauchlin great improvements have been recently effected in machinery and pressing apparatus, and Allen Brothers, confectioners, have steam power sufficient to produce confectionery for the entire Province.

The carriage factory of John M. DeWolfe, Halifax, is in active operation producing vehicles which, in elegance of design and superior finish, render importation unnecessary.

If Nova Scotia can be charged with backwardness in some branches of manufacturing enterprise, it must not be forgotten that in one most important industry it excels in proportion to its population all the other Provinces of the Empire. The shipbuilding trade in all its branches is carried on to an extent, which, considering the limited area of the Province, is certainly extraordinary. During the year 1872 nearly fifty-three thousand tons were built throughout the Province, being over sixteen thousand tons more than were built in New Brunswick, and nearly twenty-eight thousand more than were built in Quebec and Ontario put together. That a small Province with a population of less than four hundred thousand souls should be able successfully to compete with Canada and the United States in a craft requiring much constructive skill, and the application in practice of scientific principles, is matter for wonder, and is due to a variety of causes. Of these the most influential is the character of the population, which is essentially aquatic. The Nova Scotian of the country districts, half fishermen and half farmer, is as much accustomed to draw his harvests from the sea as from the land, and is equally at home on either. In many parts of the country the soil he cultivates is not exactly of that kind which —"if tickled with a hoe will laugh with a harvest," and as he has generally little inclination to bestow that fostering care which it requires, he often prefers to do the greater part of his ploughing on salt water. Where there are fishermen there must be fishing boats, and where timber is abundant and labour and money scarce these have to be constructed by the fisherman himself, who thus adds the trade of a carpenter to his other vocations. When common schools were not, these farmer-fishermen mechanics had, not unfrequently, very long heads, though so densely ignorant on general subjects that in arguments touching the rotundity of the earth and its motion round the sun, they had been known stoutly to uphold the ancient theories, yet in arithmetic they occasionally developed such a decided genius, as went a great deal further into decimal fractions than an enlightened stranger cared to follow. Adverse fortunes had at sundry times and in divers manners cast upon these shores excellent mechanics, who well understood the art of practical shipbuilding, and while the hardy fishermen, instinctively wise in such matters, proved apt scholars, the abundance of suitable timber, and the number of suitable harbors so favored their plans that the trade in shipbuilding grew and flourished.

As already hinted, another element of success is the excellent quality of timber for shipbuilding purposes which is found in the Maritime Provin-

ces. With the exception of Pitch Pine and White Oak, every kind of wood is to be had in abundance, and of a quality which is not surpassed, if equalled in any other country. Nova Scotia vessels are famous for their efficiency in carrying dead weight cargoes, such as railway iron, &c—the timber of which they are constructed seeming to possess a buoyancy and elasticity which are wanting in ships built elsewhere. When to these advantages are added the comparatively low cost of imported material and of labor, enabling the Nova Scotian to build his vessel cheaper, while the moderate price of provisions enables him to sail her at a lower rate than his rivals, we have stated the chief grounds for the superiority in shipbuilding and ship owning of this Province over the other Provinces of the Dominion. Of late years capital has been put into the business, which has therefore been conducted more systematically, but still from many a scarce heard-of harbor come scores of trim and finely modelled vessels, bearing after their names the letters N.S.—a dark mystery to the natives of many a clime. The highest class given to Provincial built ships was formally seven years A I at English Lloyds, but last year, eight years, A I was granted to several vessels built at Halifax and Yarmouth, under special inspection. This shows progress, and also that the English underwriters are not slow to appreciate efforts in that direction.*

At Halifax a dry dock capable of accommodating the largest class of vessels is a desideratum which, if supplied, would benefit not the capitalist only, but the entire Province. That Halifax is the most accessible port on this side of the Atlantic to steamers engaged on the principal routes between Europe and America is proved by the number that annually put in for coals, and the not infrequent occurrence of disabled steamers being towed in for repairs. At present when it is found imperative that the bottom of a large steamship should be examined, the work has to be done by the dangerous, troublesome, and unsatisfactory method of diving, which can only afford such temporary assistance as may enable the vessel to proceed to New York, where the amplest facilities for repair are afforded. The mere fact that extensive repairs cannot be executed is of itself sufficient to deter the great steam shipping companies from making Halifax their terminus. The success of the Marine slip at Dartmouth, which is capable of accommodating only the smaller class of vessels, should inspire capitalists with confidence. As the number of steamers which call at Halifax is increasing every year, the construction of such a dock is only a question of time, but as the problem whether Halifax can ever rival New York depends to no small extent for its solution on whether or not such a work is immediately undertaken—it is one which might well engage the attention of the various Governments, Imperial, Dominion, and Provincial. Such a dock would be of utility not only to merchant vessels, but also to Her Majesty's ships of war and Government steamers, besides proving in all probability a financial success. The ground requisite for such an undertaking could now be procured at a moderate cost, but as the price of real

* "The fact is now established—says the Hon. Wm. Annand in his letter addressed in 1866, to the Earl of Carnarvon—that the people of Nova Scotia, to say nothing of boats and small craft that swarm round our own shores, have more than a ton of registered shipping for every man, woman and child in the Province, having in less than one hundred and twenty years, in proportion to numbers, beaten every other maritime people on the face of the globe, those of the United States included."

estate is steadily rising in Halifax, the sum necessary to secure a suitable water lot will in a few years be enormous.* With a dry dock and forges where heavy screw shafts could be forged and welded, and such additions as could easily be made to the machine shops of the city, there is no reason why Halifax, the ocean terminus of a railway which will belt a Continent, the Capital of a country abounding in coal and iron, with its favorable geographical position and its magnificent harbor, should not speedily rival the principal American cities.

The Nova Scotian mechanics are generally sober and industrious, which, together with a skilful use of their hands and a readiness to adapt themselves to circumstances, make their services much sought after in the neighbouring Republic. This Robinson-Crusoe like adaptability is characteristic of the American workman, who will fearlessly undertake and execute a piece of work which an English mechanic would imagine could not possibly be performed for want of the necessary appliances. It is true that the extreme accuracy and beauty of finish, which result from the division of labor in older nationalities, is to a certain extent wanting here, but in a new country the non-essentials of ornament and luxury must yield to the essentials of efficiency and economy. Unfortunately the Nova Scotian mechanic does not occupy that position in his native Province to which he is justly entitled. That snobbish contempt for all employment, which involves soiling the fingers, and which is ever more tolerant of a moral than of a material smirch, prevails in the country to an extent which astonishes the natives of regions where juster ideas prevail. The workman himself, owing partly to the light in which he is regarded, seems often ashamed of his business, and would rather be taken for anything but for what he is. This desire of mechanics and others engaged in like occupations to appear outwardly what they are not, had its rise in the ignorant ideas of independency and gentility so ridiculously prevalent in the United States—a nondescript style of dress worn by American mechanics while at their work having probably something to do with the evil. In England the dress of a machinist for example is distinctive, and he would no more think of being ashamed to be seen on the streets with his well fitting white duck pants, neat jacket and peaked cap, than a soldier would think of being ashamed of his uniform. But behold his American cousin after his day's labor is over, how he throws off his overalls, and stands revealed in the last suit which was too shabby to wear at night, but which now looks shabbier in the light of day. Then if water be at all procurable, he proceeds to wash his face—happy is he who leaveth not a high water mark to show where that tide came in—and then having donned a doubtful looking paper collar, and by great exertions made himself look like a small shopkeeper just gone into bankruptcy, he goes forth

* The high price which building lots have attained in Halifax, within the last few years, and which is certain evidence either of present prosperity or of faith in the future of the city, has been mainly owing to the remarkable energy and enterprise of Colonel B. H. Hornsby, a gentleman belonging to the Southern States, who arrived in Halifax seven years ago, with little money in his pocket, but endowed by nature with considerable brains. In Dartmouth and the neighborhood of Halifax, he has left his mark, and gentlemen who have long sneered at his profitable speculations have been constrained to imitate his example—hence the value of real estate at this date as compared with what it was seven years ago.

rejoicing that he is not one of the dirty and downtrodden millions of Europe. Two boys leave one of our public schools where each has received the same general education—one enters a hardware store, and in due time developes into a salesman of knives, scissors, &c, the other also engages in the hardware business, but it is to exercise his brain and muscle in the construction of steam engines. Both have received the same advantages—both probably receive the same salary, yet while the first is considered a high caste man, and is privileged accordingly, the other is a Pariah hardly tolerated in good society.

There is unhappily an almost total lack of fellowship and esprit de corps among the members of the various trades employed in the Province. Not only is that principle of organization, which has been pushed to an almost dangerous extent elsewhere, unappreciated here, but even in regard to Mechanics' Institutes, Reading Rooms and Provident Societies we are far behind, not these times only, but also the times of many years ago, when a Mechanics' Institute flourished in Halifax. Our admirable educational system brings instruction within the reach of the rising generation, but, as we have stated elsewhere, there is a class of schools which we have not got, though we have abundance of the class of pupils for which they are intended. We refer to evening schools, where young men who are employed during the day may improve themselves in any branch of education in which they are deficient, or where they may pursue those technical studies necessary to their advancement in the mechanical arts. A few Mechanics Institutes with good Libraries and classes, where knowledge of the kind indicated could be had for a reasonable sum, would be an incalculable boon to the Province. Other societies are kept up with spirit, then why not have associations which would draw fellow laborers closer together, diffuse useful information, and put our skilled workmen on the same level with those of older and more densely populated cities. The mechanics of the Province are quite competent to provide for their own elevation in knowledge without any extraneous aid whatever. If a spirited movement for the formation of Mechanics Institutes were begun by the mechanics themselves, governmental aid might be obtained.

In Dartmouth there is a Mechanics Institute which was established as early as 1846, and which was incorporated in 1862. It consists of ninety-four members, and owns a commodious building, but makes little use of it. It has neither reading room nor library, and the building is now rented as a school room. The town is growing in commercial and industrial importance, and it is to be hoped that new life will be speedily infused into the organization.

In the Province of Ontario there are few towns without a Mechanics' Institute. In Toronto the Evening Classes are largely attended. The pupils receive instruction in book-keeping and penmanship, arithmetic and mathematics, architectural and mechanical drawing—ornamental drawing, French, English grammar and composition, chemistry, and elocution. The evening schools connected with the Institutes now form a section of the governmental educational department, and receive annual grants of money equal to twice the amount which they expend in the purchase of books—other than works of fiction—and in maintaining evening classes, with the restriction that the amount so granted to any Institute is not to exceed four hundred dollars. These important advantages have

been recently granted to the Institutes, as the result of *united application* to the Legislature. To show the spirit with which the country towns support the Institutes let us take for example, Dundas with a population, of about three thousant souls. The Institute of that town has a library containing fifteen hundred volumes, a reading room having thirty-five periodicals and newspapers, eighteen pupils in the ornamental drawing class ; and books were bought for the year 1871, in accordance with the conditions of the Legislative grant, to the value of two hundred dollars.

In Ontario there is also an Association of the Institutes of the Province, representatives from which meet annually to discuss questions connected with their conduct. They are thus a power in the Dominion. During the year 1872 they secured grants of money from the Local Legislature to the aggregate amount of eleven thousand four hundred dollars. *

We have our admirable Young Men's Christian Association, Early Closing Association, our city library open to all ; but mechanics are a class requiring distinctive organizations for their own special benefit, and suitable for their special wants.

There ought to be a Mechanics' Institute in Halifax, Truro, Pictou, New Glasgow, Antigonish,† Sidney, Amherst, Yarmouth and other towns in the Province, and an Association of the Mechanics' Institutes of Nova Scotia—representatives from the affiliated institutes meeting annually and helping forward the good work.

If Nova Scotia is deficient in educational provision for mechanics it is well provided for, at least so far as Halifax is concerned, in regard to a thorough mercantile education, by the Institution under the efficient direction of Messrs. Eaton and Frasee.

Mechanics ! vindicate the dignity of your calling—unite and organize, and let Nova Scotia stand in the front rank for the character of her working men in sobriety, industry, skill and evening class educational advantages.

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* For this information we are indebted to Wm. Edwards, Esq., of Toronto.

† There was a Mechanics' Institute in Antigonish in 1842.

CONCLUSION.

To the important subject of Immigration, as bearing specially on the interests of Nova Scotia, the writer had intended to devote the closing chapter of his book, but his matter has already extended so far beyond the prescribed limits, that he is obliged to forego the execution of his purpose, but hopes to produce another work on the Province in which the topic —including a dissertation on the Immigration System of the United States—will be fully discussed, and whose pages may be enlivened by pen and ink sketches of some of the public men of the Dominion.

In the meantime, the writer will conclude by giving a short extract from an official Report which he addressed to the Honorable Dr. Tupper seven years ago, and which was embodied in the Government Immigration Blue Book for that year, shewing that the scheme now recommended by Mr. Arch, of England, as the result of his investigations in Canada, is, in one of its cardinal provisions, radically the same as that recommended for Nova Scotia by the writer as adapted for the requirements of "agriculturists arriving in the Province without capital":—

"May I be permitted to throw out a few hints as to some considerations that might prove practically useful in taking further legislative action in the matter of immigration?

"It is conceded that the Province is really in want of the importation of suitable immigrants, and that if a large country like the United States has its gigantic machinery in motion, so Nova Scotia, possessing according to its size greater resources than any other country on the face of the globe, and its population presenting a remarkable contrast in point of number to what its unrivalled capabilities war-

rant, ought also to have its little machine in as perfect order as any larger one.

"Then the question presents itself, what is necessary to secure the class of settlers to which I have adverted? I would just endeavor to urge the absolute necessity of clearing say five acres of each of the hundred acre lots into which the block selected has been subdivided.* Let a house be also erected on each, and a road made to the harbor. Then the Province will have something to present as an inducement to new settlers. The respective lots should be sold on easy terms, payable by instalments. One such sale to an energetic honest man will prove ultimately more profitable to the Province, than the disposal of two or three thousand acres to a mere speculator. I am satisfied that the experiment would prove so successful as to induce the Government to carry out the scheme on a large scale. My observation of the country has led me to the firm conviction, that no other kind of inducement can prove equally successful. On the assumption that the experiment is opposed, its opponents must at all events acknowledge that it cannot by any possibility accrue in ultimate pecuniary loss to the country. I anticipate objections on the ground of the action of both the United States and Canada, which could be easily combated, my arguments being based on the difference of circumstances obtaining in Nova Scotia as compared with her powerful neighbors."

Colonel Lawrie has occasionally offered, through the press, practical suggestions of value in regard to immigration, and this year—1873—manifested a commendable degree of liberality and public spirit by taking measures for the introduction into the Province of a considerable number of children, who are likely to remain permanently in the country, and who, therefore, will contribute materially to its prosperity.

* Land reserved for Immigrants.

APPENDIX.

A.

From the report of the Indian branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, 1872:

INDIANS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

Annapolis	63	Queens	83
Colchester	31	Shelburne	28
Cumberland	44	Antigonish	93
Digby	224	Yarmouth	20
Guysborough	48	Cape Breton	188
Halifax	115	Inverness	138
Hants	168	Richmond	78
Kings	61	Victoria	69
Lunenburg	50		
Pictou	125	Total	1,326

B.

The English Commissioners say (page 519): "Purchas, in his Pilgrims, speaking of the plantations the English had made in 1602—three years before the epoch fixed by the French as the beginning of their attempts to settle in Acadia—gives a very particular description of that country, then called by the Indians Mawooshen, and takes notice of the rivers Pemaquid and Sagadahock, and the towns of Penobscot, Kennebeck and Maragrove, from which names the English call the inhabitants of these towns and rivers Pemaquid, Sagadahock, Penobscot, and Kennebeck Indians; and L'Escarbot—an author much relied upon by the French Commissaries in their memorial—in his Histoire de la Nouvelle France, published in 1609, speaks of the several parts belonging to the English in Acadia at his arrival in that country in the year 1606."

C.

Letter of Queen Anne to Francis Nicholson:

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas, our good brother the most Christian King, hath, at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galleys, such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion. We being willing to show by some mark of our favor towards his subjects how kind we take his compliance therein, have, therefore, thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under our Government in Acadia and Newfoundland, that have been, or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late treaty of peace, and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements without any molestation, as fully and freely as other our subjects do or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same, if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at

our court at Kensington, the 23rd day of June, 1713, and in the 12th year of our reign.

By Her Majesty's command.

(Signed,) DARTMOUTH.

Superscribed.

To our trusty and well-beloved Francis Nicholson, Esquire, Governor of our Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and General and Commander-in-chief of our forces in our said Province, and in Newfoundland in America.

D.

The 14th article of the treaty made at Utrecht between Anne, the Queen of Great Britain, and Louis XIV, King of France, is as follows:

"It is expressly provided that in all the said places and colonies to be yielded and restored by the most Christian King in pursuance of this treaty, the subjects of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, together with all their moveable effects. But those who are willing to remain there, and to be subject to the Kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usuage of the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."

Treaty signed 11th April, 1713.

E.

Governor Cornwallis concluded his address to the French deputies as follows:—

I know that the troops put you to some inconvenience at present, as your custom is to leave the houses where they are. It is a matter of necessity which you must endure for some time. That will pass away, and you will find it to your advantage. In the meantime you can rely upon our word, that as soon as tranquility is re-established in the Province, we shall give passports to all those who shall ask for them. We have already given you to understand, that no government permits those who withdraw from it to carry with them their effects.

Therefore, to give such permission would be directly contrary to the declaration of His Majesty published here on our arrival.

You ask for Mr. Girard to assist Mr. Cheuvreuil in the department of Mines. As it is impossible for a priest to serve the whole department, and as it is our wish that you should have the full enjoyment of your religion, and as there is no probability that one will be allowed to come from the French colonies at present, we consent to allow Mr. Girard to officiate among you. He has given us his word of honor not to leave the Province without our permission.

F.

Governor Hopson in addressing the Lords of Trade on the 23rd July, 1753, said:—

Your Lordships may, perhaps, be somewhat surprised that I should have anything to apprehend from so inconsiderable and contemptible a body, when I have the command of so many troops; but exclusive of the difficulty that attends marching after Indians in a country like this, I assure your Lordships that the troops are so divided in keeping the different posts of Chignecto, Annapolis Royal, Mines, Pisiquid, Lunenburg, Dartmouth, George's Island, Fort Sackville and Halifax, that I have not at present a detachment to spare from hence even upon the most urgent occasion. In fact what we call an Indian war here is no other than a pretence for the French to commit hostilities upon His Majesty's subjects.

G.

The analyses of coal which follow have been obtained from the various Coal Companies whose designations are respectively attached to them.

BLOCK HOUSE MINE COAL ANALYSIS.

An average sample from cargo steamer *Zoe:*

224 lbs. weight of charge. 3.40 Time of carbonizing. 9,500 feet of gas from ton 2,240 lbs. standard yield. 10,316 feet of gas from ton 2,240 lbs. maximum yield. 40 bushels coke. 1,460 lbs. coke. 16.53 Illuminating power gas at standard yield. 2,940 No. feet purified per bushel hydrate of lime.

ANALYSIS.

Volatile matter	39
Fixed carbon	57.5
Ash	3.5
	100

LITTLE GLACE BAY STEAM AND GAS COALS.

ADMIRALTY REPORT.

Duncan, at Halifax,
16th April, 1867.

SIR,—I am directed by the Vice-Admiral Commanding in Chief to forward to you the enclosed copy of a Report on the quality of the Little Glace Bay Coal, the result of its trial in the Navy Yard, and to convey to you his permission to publish it, should you wish to do so.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, (Signed,) HENRY P. BRENAN, *Secretary.*

EDWARD P. ARCHBOLD, Esq.,
Treasurer of the Glace Bay Mining Company.

H.M.S. *Duncan*,
Halifax, 12th April, 1867.

SIR,—In compliance with your directions to try the two samples of Little Glace Bay, Cape Breton, coals, sent to the Dock Yard with a view to ascertain their steaming capabilities, I have the honor to report that they have had a fair trial in the boiler of the small portable engine attached to the lathe-room, and also on board the *Charger* gunboat. I have tested them in the usual way for carbon, with the following results:

DESCRIPTION OF COAL.	Percentage of		SMOKE.
	Clinker.	Ash.	
Harbor Vein.....	6.79	2.12	Dark brown, and considerable in quantity.
Hub Vein.....	4.27	1.3	Light brown, and considerable in quantity.

2nd.—Both of these coals light up quickly, raise steam fast, burn well and clearly, and generate steam well. They produce a very moderate amount of clinker and ash. The smoke of the "Harbour Vein" is considerably more than that of the "Hub Vein," and much darker. The deposit of soot is considerable in both kinds.

3rd.—Tested for carbon, the Harbor Vein contains 83.5 per cent., and the Hub Vein 80.9 per cent.; and therefore in this respect are nearly equal to Welsh; which is further corroborated by the fact that the average daily expenditure of Welsh and Glace Bay coal, in the lathe-room boiler, is as nearly as possible alike, the Harbor Vein having slightly the advantage of the Hub Vein.

4th.—Not having the necessary apparatus, I am unable to test these coals for sulphur, but, judging by the manner in which they burn, and other observations, I should say the quantity they contain is very small.

5th.—Being similar in their nature to North of England coal, they are not liable to make much small nor dust; and would therefore stand the effects of transhipment without much deterioration.

6th.—I am therefore of opinion that both of these coals are well suited for the use of H.M. ships, particularly if treated in the same way as ordered by the Admiralty respecting English coal, viz: mixed with Welsh in proper proportions.—I have, &c.,

(Signed,) EDWARD O. CRICHTON *Chief Engineer.*

CAPTAIN GIBSON, H.M.S. *Duncun.*

TESTS OF THE HUB VEIN COAL BY GAS LIGHT COMPANIES.

Philadelphia Gas Works, March 29th, 1865.

100 lb. Charges.	Weight of charge	400 lbs.
"	Gas made	1800 feet.
"	Average make per pound .	4 50 100 "
"	Coke made	6 bush.
"	Coke made, in lbs.	250 lbs.

Illuminating power, 5 feet Batwing, 15 16-100 Candle.

Providence Gas Light Company.

2 charges, each 200 lbs. . . .	400 lbs., average 3¼ hours.
Product	10640 feet of gas per ton, or 4¾ ft. per lb.
"	33 3-6 bush. coke, merchantable, and 2 bush nut and slack or dust.
"	4 6-11 gns. tar, 7 4 9 gns. volatile oil, 16 gns. ammonia water.

New York Gas Light Company.

48 retorts, 6 charges, 4 hours each .	40710 lbs. at 4.64 to the lb.
19 chaldrons, 22 bushels coke . .	1342 lbs. to the ton, coke.

Candle power, 13. All Provincial coals are worked under high heats. Another trial showed G. B. coal to yield 38 bushels coke to the ton, weighing 1436 lbs., 15 candles, 9000 feet gas.

Charleston Gas Light Company.

100 lb. charges. Weight of charge, 700 lbs. Gas made, 3170 feet. Average per lb., 4 53-100 feet. Coke made in lbs., 448. Coke in bushels, 10 1.2. Illuminating power, 5 feet Batwing, 16 candles.

Gas Works, Halifax, N.S., 4th May, 1867.

JAMES A. MOREN, Esq., *President Glace Bay Mining Company.*

Dear Sir,—Having requested my opinion of your Hub Vein Coal for gas purposes, I have much pleasure in stating, that having used about 1500 tons of it last year, I find the average yield of gas to be about 8,500 cubic feet per ton. The illuminating power, as tested by Wright's Improved Photometer, is equal to 16 candles.

The coke is also of good quality, and I have no doubt but the coal will improve as the workings are increased in depth.

I am, yours truly,

(Signed,) GEORGE BUIST, *Manager.*

THE GLACE BAY MINING COMPANY have much pleasure in calling attention to the above Report, and tests of their coals, and beg to intimate that the price at the Mines, at Little Glace Bay, Cape Breton, is fixed for the present at one dollar and seventy-five cents per ton, free on board, for screened coal; and one dollar per ton for slack.

JAMES A. MOREN, *President.*
EDWARD P. ARCHBOLD, *Treasurer.*

Halifax, N.S., *May 21st*, 1872.

LABORATORY OF KING'S COLLEGE, WINDSOR, N.S.

ABSTRACT OF REPORT ON SYDNEY COAL.

To Messrs Cunard & Morrow,
Agents to the General Mining Association,
Halifax.

January 10th, 1871.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to report to you on the examination I have just completed for the General Mining Association of London, according to directions from R. H. Brown, Esq., Manager at the Sydney Mines, Cape Breton.

The sample of Coal forwarded to me, last month, was in two boxes, each 8 inches square by 3 feet long, which contained a full section of the Main Seam 6 feet high, half the length being in each box. Pieces were taken throughout, so that a fair average of the quality of the whole seam might be procured. The Coal arrived in excellent condition after a long sea voyage and about 50 miles of land carriage, of which 45 were by rail. I obtained the following results on analysis :—

Compositive of average samples of the whole seam of Coal.

BY MEDIUM COKING.		BY FAST COKING.	
Moisture	3.04	Total volatile matters	37.48
Volatile combustible matter	31.14	Coke	62.52
Fixed carbon	61.50		100.00
Ash (reddish brown)	4.32	Theoretical evaporative power	7.98 lb.
	100.00	BY SLOW COKING.	
Coke per cent	65.82	Total volatile matters	29.70
Theoretical evaporative power	8.45 lb.	Coke	70.30
			100.00
		Theoretical evaporative power	9.06 lb.

Mean coke per cent	66.21
Mean theoretical evaporative power	8.49 lb.
Ash per cent	4.32
Sulphur per cent	1.24
Specific gravity of average samples	1.30
Calculated weight of one cubic foot, unbroken	81.10 lb.
" " " " " broken	54.50 lb.
Space for one ton, 2240 lb., on stowage ("Economic Weight,"	41.10 cubic feet.

Composition of Ash.

Sand and clay		29.57
Peroxide of iron		51.33
Alumina		4.84
Sulphate of lime		10.98
Lime		3.05
Magnesia	}	0.23
Phosphoric acid, decided traces		
Manganese, traces		
Chlorine, traces		
		100.00

GAS RETURNS,

By G. Buist, Esq., Manager of Halifax Gas Works,

(On samples furnished by me.)

Gas (average of 4 tests) per ton of 2240 lb.....8200 cubic feet.
Coke " " " " ..... 1295 lb., of good quality.
Illuminating power of gas (average of 6 tests).8 candles.

The details above given explain the well known high favor in which this coal has been held for upwards of forty years for domestic use, and also for steam producing by those who have employed it carefully.

HENRY HOW,
Professor of Chemistry.

REPORT AS TO ALBION MINES COAL.

Laboratory of King's College, Windsor, N.S.,

March 30th, 1869.

SIR,—I have carefully examined at your request, for the General Mining Association, the contents of two barrels of coals, marked respectively: Foord Pit, Main Seam; and Cage Pit, Deep Seam, Albion Mines—with the following results.

Coal from Foord Pit, Main Seam, an average of the large sample of this Coal sent gave:

Moisture	1.48	
Volatile combustible matter	24.28	
Fixed carbon	66.50	74.24 Coke.
Ash	7.74	
	100.00	
Sulphur	0 55	
Specific gravity	1.294	Average of 3 specimens.
Theoretical evaporative power	9.13 lb.	

Coal from Cage Pit, Deep Seam, an average of the large sample sent gave:—

Moisture	2.54	
Volatile combustible matter	20.46	
Fixed carbon	68.50	77.00 coke.
Ash	8.50	
	100.00	

Sulphur	1.69	
Specific gravity	1.345	Average of 3 specimens.
Theoretical evaporative power	9.41 lb.	

(Signed,)

HENRY HOW, D.C.L.

Professor of Chemistry.

J. HUDSON, ESQ.,

Agent G. M. A., Albion Mines, Pictou, N. S.

Gas Works, Halifax, 8th June, 1871.

Experiments made with coal, from the Foord Pit, Albion Mines:

Gas per ton of 2240 lbs. = 7,800 cubic feet.
Illuminating power = 16 candles.
Coke, of very good quality.

GEO. BUIST,
Manager.

INTERNATIONAL COAL CO.

The following is an analysis of the coal made by the Manhattan Gas Light Company, New York, January 10th, 1871.

Maximum yield per ton	10,106 feet
Illuminating power at 9500 feet	1703 candles.
Coke per ton	38 bushels.
Coke per ton	1440 lbs.
Gas purified by one bushel of lime	2314 feet.

Ash in coal	5.0	per cent.
Volatile matter	38.5	"
Fixed carbon	56.5	"
	100.00	

ANALYSIS OF ACADIA STEAM COAL.

Water	2.30
Volatile Combustible matter	14.36
Sulphur	·78
Fixed Carbon	77·00
Mineral matter	5·56

The ash, which is almost white, contains considerable alumina, some silica, potassa, soda, and a trace of lime.
1 cubic yard weighs 2207·5 pounds avoirdupois.
Burns freely without leaving clinker.

GOWRIE MINE, C.B.

No. 1.

ASSAY OFFICE AND LABORATORIES,

32 BEDFORD ROW, HALIFAX, 26th Feb'y, 1863.

Sample marked "1st and 2nd" Bands of Coal Seam, in bulk, from the

Gowrie Mine, Cow Bay, Cape Breton, sent by the Hon. Thomas D. Archibald, contains :—

Moisture	1·80
Hydro-carbonaceous matter	27·08
Sulphur	3·42
Coke	67·70
	100·00

Ash, 7·25 per cent. coutains:

Peroxide of Iron	52·223
Alumina	17·565
Sulphur	traces
Silica	30·212
	100·000

Evaporative power 8·53

W. T. Rickard, F.C.S.

No. 2.

ASSAY OFFICE AND LABORATORIES.

32 Bedford Row, Halifax, 26th Feb'y, 1863.

Sample marked "2" Band of Coal Seam from Gowrie Mine, Cow Bay, Cape Breton, sent by the Hon. Thomas D. Archibald, contains :—

Moisture	1·46
Hydro-carbonaceous matter	37·27
Sulphur	1·27
Coke	60·00
	100·00

Ash, 4·15 per cent.
Specific gravity 1·33

W. T. Rickard, F.C.S.

SCHOONER POND, C.B.

This colliery, connected with Sydney Harbor by a branch of the Glasgow and Cape Breton Railway, is in course of development.

The following are analyses of the coal made at the Royal School of Mines, London :—

Carbon	78.10.	Volatile matter	35.43
Hydrogen	5.48.	Coke	61.90
Oxygen &c. Nitrogen	7.81.	Water	2.67
Sulphur	2.49.		100.00
Water	2.67.		
Ash	3.45.		
	100.00		

SPRING HILL MINING COMPANY, CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

TESTIMONIALS.

Extracts from Reports of Messrs. Woodhouse and Jeffcock, Mining Engineers, London and Derby, G. B. (January 2, 1866)

The Coal Field which we have carefully examined, and which is the subject of this Report, is situate in the county of Cumberland, in the Province

of Nova Scotia. It is generally described as the "Springhill" Coal Field, but in reality it is a part of the great Cumberland Coal Field.

The first, or upper, seam we found to be a bed of remarkably good coal, presenting a very clean, compact appearance in its immediate outcrop. The section of the seam of coal was as follows:

	Ft.	In.
Top coal (very good for roof)	1	6
Dirt	1	0
Good coal	11	0
	13	6

This may be considered a very valuable seam of coal. The quality of the coal is exceedingly good. It may be described as a bituminous coal, but of dense and strong structure.

About 45 yards below the main seam we proved (by sinking a small shaft) another seam of about 3 feet thick, of good workable coal, having the same dip and angle as the main seam.

At a probable depth of 150 yards there appears to be a third seam of good coal, about two feet thick. This has been partially worked and proved to be very good, considering it was near the bassit.

The main seam of coal at Springhill will afford suitable fuel for smelting the iron—not containing an excess of ash, and free from sulphur. The physical characteristics of the coal are, its cubical clean fracture, freedom from "bat" and dirt, often associated in the seam, and a density and strength of structure which suits either for coking, or, we think, for use raw in the Blast Furnace.

Extracts from Report in 1869, *of the late Mr. Ed. Hartley, F.G.S., of the Canadian Geological Survey.*

The samples of coal examined were taken from the main seam of the Springhill coal field. An examination of the external character of this coal shows it to be a bituminous coal of a moderately compact texture, and not inclined to fall to pieces, or slack. Four samples were taken for analysis, I. and II. were two averages of the whole box; III. was a picked sample of the best (most compact) coal; and IV. was a specimen of the coal showing a shaly texture. The results of proximate analysis in the laboratory were as follows:

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Hygroscopic Moisture	1.21	.98	.58	1.28
Volatile combustible matter	33.08	35.52	33.27	35.66
Fixed carbon	61.49	59.42	63.85	58.53
Ash (perfectly white)	4.22	4.08	2.30	4.53
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Coke	65.71	63.50	66.15	63.06

Total amount of sulphur in coal, 0.225 per cent.

RESERVE COLLIERY, C.B.

The following analysis was made by the Manhattan Gas Light Company, New York:

Charge, 2240 lbs. Time 3 h. 50 m.

Maximum yield per ton	9950 ft.
Illuminating power at 9500 feet	13.17 candles.
Coke, per ton, 38 bushels	1520 lbs.
Gas purified by one bushel lime	2380 ft.

	New York.		London.
Volatile matter	34.50		36.26
Fixed carbon	59.50	Coke	62.74
Ash	6.00	Water	1.00
	100.00		100.00

	London.
Carbon	77.41
Hydrogen	5.47
Oxygen and Nitrogen	9.30
Sulphur	2.47
Water	1.00
Ash	4.35
	100.00

EXTRACT from the Nova Scotia Custom House Reports, showing quantities and value of Minerals exported during the fiscal year ending thirtieth June, 1868, to 1871 inclusive.

MINERAL.	COUNTRIES.	QUANTITY.				VALUE.			
		1868	1869	1870	1871	1868	1869	1870	1871
Gold	Great Britain	.....	.....	.....	.....	$14334	$159810	$116145	$84152
"	United States	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14900	14950	78000
						$14334	$174710	$131095	$162152
Coal	Great Britain	666	200	160	270	1443	325	280	450
"	United States	198920	376135	209448	252170	400652	578190	398621	470728
"	B. N. A. Provinces	45307	50659	54967	49308	95894	90632	99928	94924
"	British W. Indies	830	1	1170	1381	1802	5	2289	2812
"	French W. Indies	.....	.....	2305	1551	.....	.....	5186	2332
"	Spanish W. Indies	4311	2407	10211	2879	8887	4364	17614	6720
"	South America	147	186	120	60	367	372	400	120
"	St. Pierre et Miquelon	2580	2330	2699	3302	6118	8330	6036	6119
"	Spain	.....	.....	69	190	.....	.....	200	700
		252760	431938	281149	311116	$515163	$682218	$532554	$584905
Copper	United States	.....	.....	11	4	.....	200	1325	208
Iron ore	United States	.....	.....	.....	54	.....	.....	.....	270
Maganese	United States	156	156	1256	102	4700	4695	4102	1638
Grindstones	Great Britain	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3000
&c.	United States	83874	145053	.....	.....	72240	128132	298	24387
"	B. N. Provinces	2964	3312	.....	.....	3995	3789	27182	3754
"	Spanish W. Indies	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	200
"	British W. Indies	.....	20	.....	.....	300	90	.....	.....
		86838	148385	.....	.....	$76535	$132011	$27480	$31341
Barytes	United States	.....	185	.....	.....	.....	1480	.....	.....
Plaster		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$76387	$82711

H.

List of cabin and steerage passengers per S.S. City of Boston booked at Halifax:—

Cabin—Mr. W. E. Potter, Captain Wm. Forbes, (surveyor to French Lloyds), Mr. Leconte, Master F. R. Robinson, Master Thos. H. Robinson, Capt. Hamilton, 65th Regt., Mr. James Allan, (of J. Allan & Co), Mr. A. K. Doull, (of Doull & Miller), Mr. Edward Billing, (of Anderson, Billing & Co.,) Mrs. Kiedtal, child and infant, Mr. John B. Young, C.E., Mr. Baker, lady, 2 children and nurse, Mrs. Orange and child, Mr. John Barron (of P. Power & Co.,) Mr. Walter Barron, Mr. P. Power, jun., Capt. Sterling, lady, infant and nurse, Mr. Jas. N. Paint, Miss F. Paint, Mr. G. A. Knox, (of Knox & Jordan), Mr. Wm. Murray, (of Burns & Murray,) Mr. C. S. Silver, (of W. & C. Silver,) E. J. Kenny, (of T. & E. Kenny,) Mr. John Thomson, (of Thomson & Co.,) Mr. H. C. Morey, (Deputy-assistant Superintendent of Stores,) Lieut. Orange and female servant, Lieut. Kildahl and female servant, Mr. John D. Purdy, Mr. Chas. Fisher, Mr. T. R. Montgomery, Mr. W. Parks, (of St. John.)

Steerage—Joseph Holland, Jas. Graves, Mary E. Erskine, Pat. Cassidy, George Rowling, Jas. McCain and wife, servant of Lieut. Orange, servant of Lieut. Kildahl.

ADDENDA.

The following paragraph was omitted at page 430:

Mr. LeVesconte having, towards the close of 1864, retired from the office of Financial Secretary, was succeeded by Mr. James McDonald, member for Pictou County—an appointment which proved an important accession to the administrative capacity and strength of the Government.

In the contents of Chapter XXI, the reader will find "Death of Dr. Forrester" referring to the following notice which was accidentally omitted from the place indicated.

On the twentieth of April, 1869, Alexander Forrester, D.D., Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia from 1855 to 1864, and Principal of the Provincial Normal College, died at New York, whither he had gone for medical advice. He was a native of Scotland, and was born in the year 1805, receiving his education at the University of Edinburgh. He was licensed in 1831, and ordained in 1835. He was first settled as a pastor in the parish of Sorbie, in Wigtonshire, where he remained until the disruption of the Free Church from the Establishment in 1843. Dr. Forrester was the only member of the Presbytery to which he belonged, who seceded from the Established Church. Soon after the disruption he was called to the charge of the Free Middle Church, Paisley, where he remained four years, until 1848, when he visited Nova Scotia as a deputy of the Free Church. Here he remained, and supplied St. John's Church, Halifax, for three months, during which time he organized classes which became the nucleus of the Free Church College. He received a call from St. John's Church, of which he accepted. In November, 1848, the Free Church College was opened, and Dr. Forrester gave lectures on natural science. The congregation of St. John's built Chalmer's Church, which was opened by him in 1855, and in which he ministered when he accepted the position of Superintendent of Education and Principal of the Normal Provincial College. During his pastorate he had visited Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Bermuda and Newfoundland, preaching and delivering lectures, infusing a portion of his own enthusiasm into the public mind. From the time of Dr. Forrester's arrival in the Province till his death he labored most assiduously and successfully in elevating the educational status of the Province, and in diffusing the religion of Christ. "The Teacher's Text Book" remains as a durable monument to his masculine intellect, and devotion to the great cause of popular education. The teachers of the Province did well to mark their esteem and gratitude for services rendered not only to the cause of education, but especially to the teaching profession, by erecting a memorial stone in Truro, to one whose reputation will brighten, and whose services will be more highly appreciated, as time advances.

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